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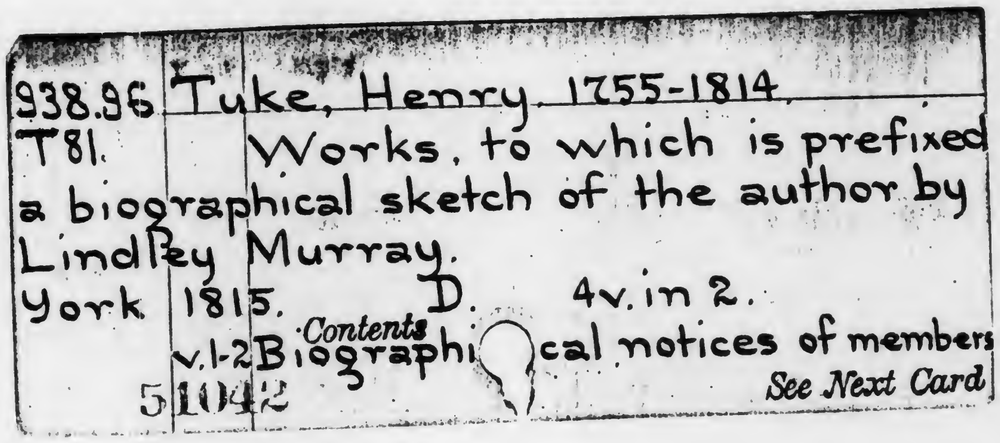
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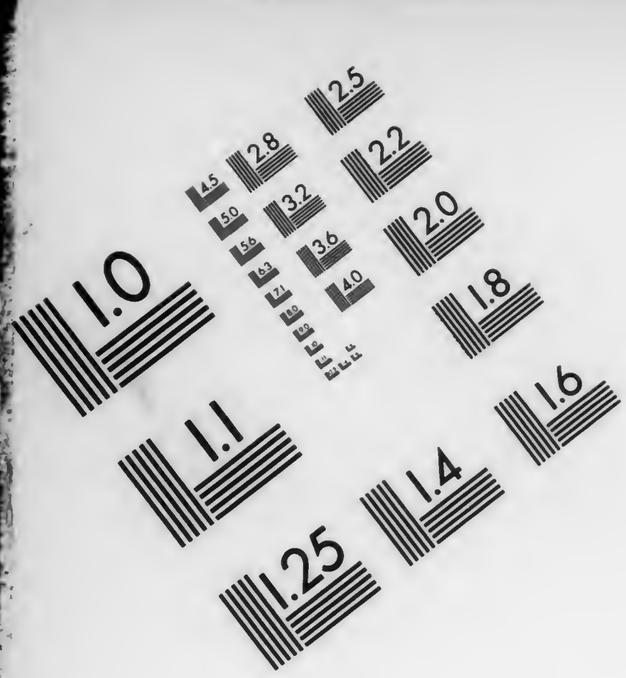

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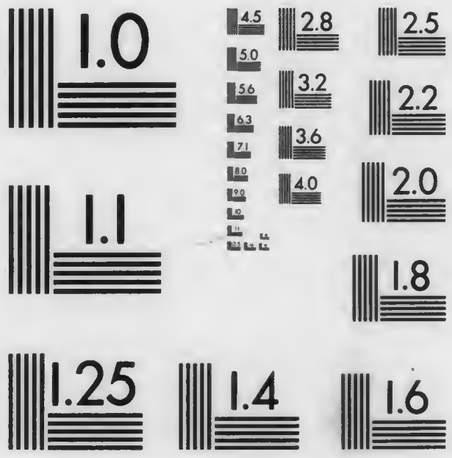

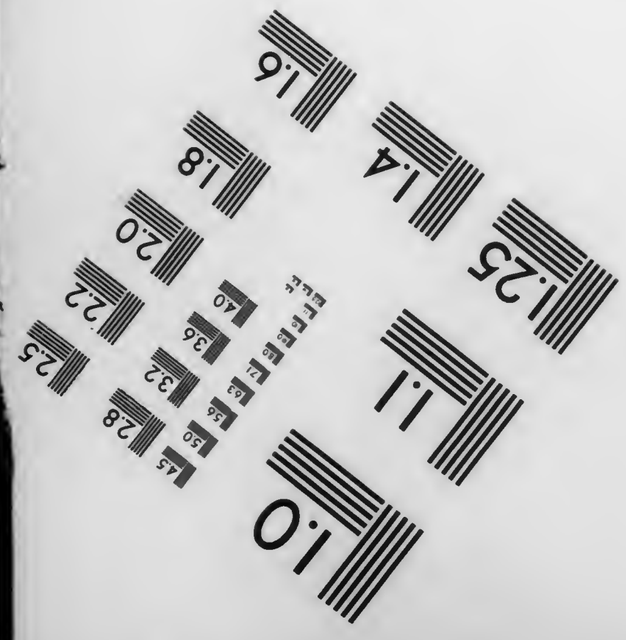

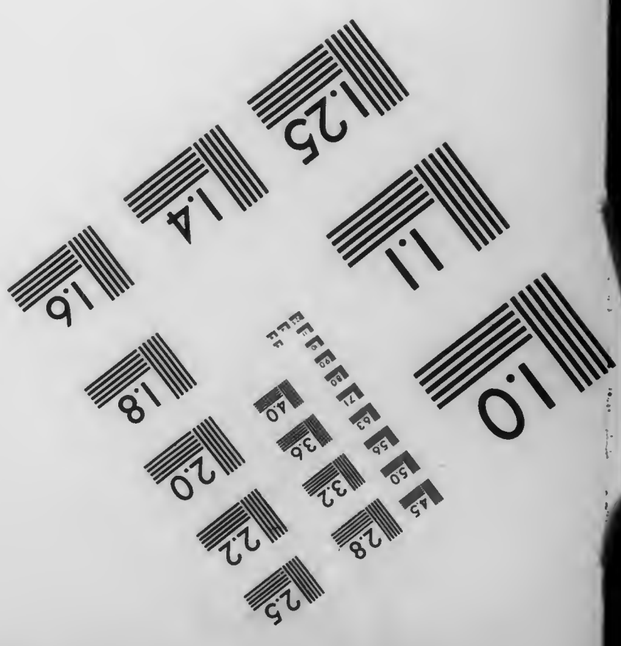

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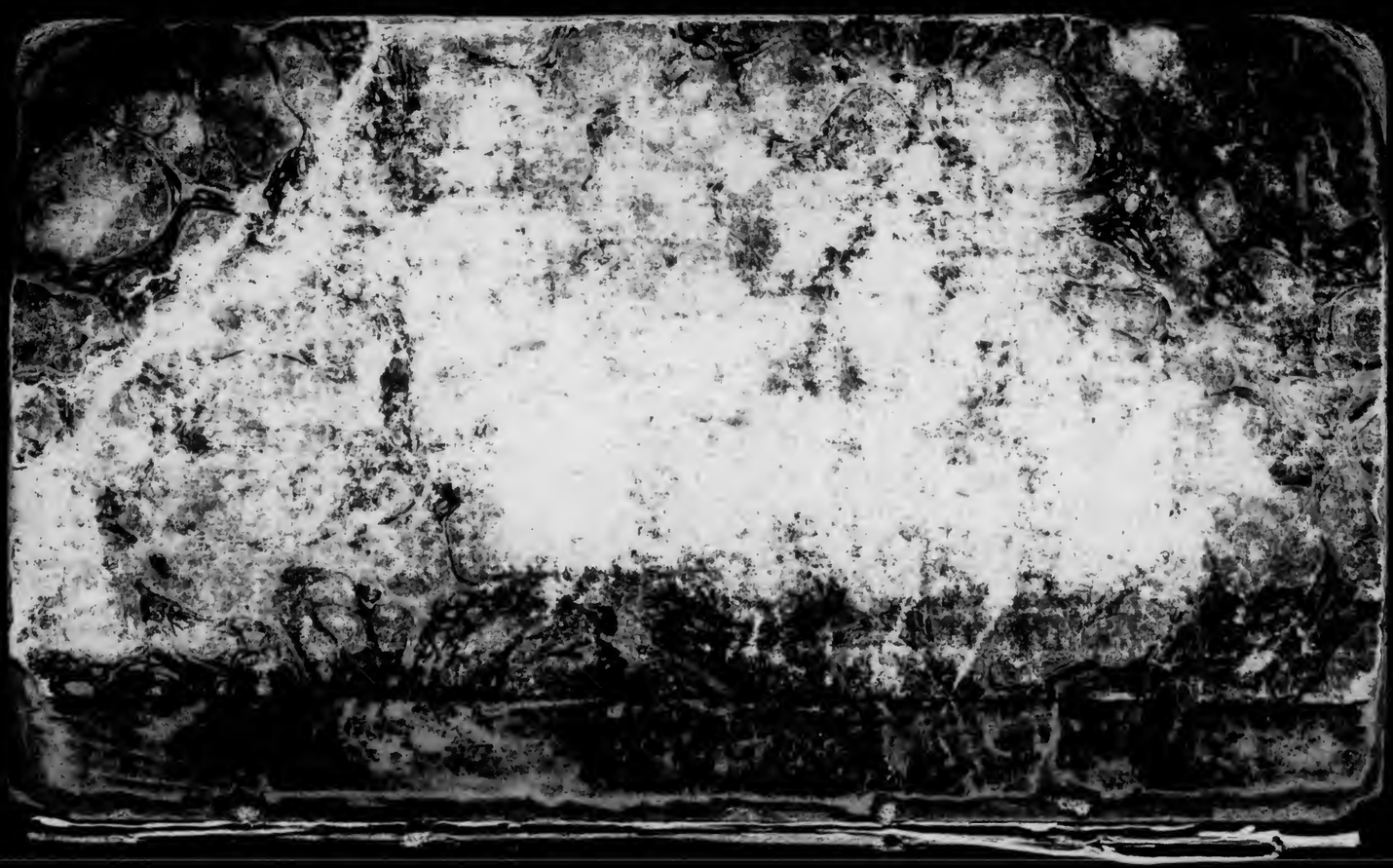

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

MEMBERS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

By HENRY TUKE.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING

THE LIFE OF GEORGE FOX.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME I.

THE Publication of the Prospectus of this Work, in 1810, appears to have excited an expectation of its earlier appearance, than was in the Author's contemplation. At that time, it was not his design to proceed immediately, but to collect the sentiments of his friends on the subject; and to receive such materials as might be in the possession of individuals, either not printed, or but little known.

Besides the apprehension of the want there is of such a Biographical Publication, he was also induced to undertake it, from the knowledge that a Friend, who is supposed to possess a larger Collection of Books, written by Members of our Society, than any other individual, intended leaving them to the Quarterly Meeting of York; by which means, materials for such a Work would be easily within the Author's reach. But though this Friend has since kindly presented the books during his life, he has not yet had opportunity to arrange and forward them. Till this is done, it is apprehended, but little progress can be made with the work. It is, however, intended to make use of such materials as can be obtained; and to proceed as quickly as the Author's other engagements will permit; which indeed afford him but little leisure for this kind of employment. This explanation is

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thought necessary, to account for the lapse of time which has occurred, and which, perhaps, may yet occur, in the further prosecution of the work.

In the Prospectus it was mentioned, that the volumes were intended to be published in octavo; but, on further consideration, the duodecimo size has been preferred, because more matter may be given at less expense; and because a volume may be brought out more frequently. Care, however, is intended to be taken that the book be clearly and neatly printed; and to accommodate those who wish for a superior work, part of the impression is struck off on a fine paper at a moderate advance in the price.

This Volume, it will be observed, is appropriated to the Life of George Fox, who was the principal instrument in the formation of our religious society. At a time when great zeal, but much unsettlement, prevailed in the religious world, this extraordinary man was peculiarly raised up, to gather a people into the patient waiting for Christ, and to an attention to his secret illuminations of the soul, by that Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Considering him in this point of view, and apprehending that his real character is but little known, on account of the valuable Journal of his Life and Labours, published soon after his decease, being very voluminous, it has appeared desirable that a small volume should be occupied with an account of him, selected from his own memoirs; with such additional matter, as might be in manuscript only, and suitable for publication.

In executing this work, the selection of the most interesting and valuable matter has been attended with some difficulty, on account of the various tastes of different readers. To some it may appear that there is too much minuteness, to others that too much valuable matter is omitted; and there may be those who will think that both these errors are committed. The Author certainly does not intend to be so particular, in recording the Life of any other individual; but considering that this memoir, will contain an account of the origin of our Society, a particular mention of those places, which were early visited, and in which Meetings were first settled, has been deemed interesting to Friends in general, and especially to those who reside at or near such places. This consideration has occasioned a pretty close attention to the route of his travels, and the notice of most of the places he has mentioned; at least in the early part of his life.

To those who may think that much valuable matter has been omitted, it may be replied, that to take in all of that description, and even to relate at length what has been selected, would have increased this volume to an unsuitable size. Many, it is presumed, will read this Epitome, who would not peruse a folio volume; and it is hoped that some, after reading this, may be induced to peruse the original; in which they may be assured they will find much not inserted here, that is interesting and instructive.

The Reader will observe, in page 30 of this volume, a reference to some Author, who gives an account of the practice of those who were not considered regular Ministers, preaching in the places of public worship. This has since been found in Gough's History of the Quakers, Vol. 1, page 86 to 89; to which it may be sufficient to refer the Reader.

From the accounts which George Fox gives of the large numbers convinced in many places, we may be led to suppose that the settled Meetings of Friends must, at that time, have been very large in those places. But this does not appear to have been always the case; if we may judge from the size of those Meeting-houses, which appear to have been built at or about that time. For instance, at Synderhill Green, it is said, that some thousands attended the Meeting, and that there was a general convincement: This place is on the confines of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, near Handsworth Woodhouse, where a Meeting-house was early built, which it is supposed could not accommodate more than two hundred persons. From this and similar circumstances, it appears that all those who are said to be convinced, did not join in strict membership with the Society; but that they simply assented to the truth of the doctrines preached to them.

In the Publication of this Volume, the Author has been, in an especial manner, desirous of attracting the attention of the Youth of that Society, which George Fox had been instrumental in forming, to the labours, the sufferings, and the character of this devoted servant of Christ. To these in particular, the call of the Almighty to the Jews is affectionately recommended: "Look unto Abraham your father—I called him [when] alone, and blessed him, and increased him."

N. B. It is apprehended that some Friends may possess manuscripts, relating to George Fox, which might have furnished additional matter for this volume. If this is the case, the Author will be obliged by the communication of them, as he may perhaps find an opportunity to introduce some addition afterwards, on the subject of this Memoir.

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LIFE

OF

GEORGE FOX.

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GEORGE FOX was born in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, in Leicestershire. This place I suppose to be the same as is called Fenny Drayton in our modern maps. He was the son of Christopher and Mary Fox, both of whom appear to have been virtuous characters; and his father was so much esteemed by his neighbours as to be called "Righteous Christer." They would, no doubt, instruct their children in the principles of religion; but it does not appear that they gave their son much learning; yet such was the gravity of his spirit, and the purity of his manners whilst a child, that some of his relations were desirous of his being educated for

the ministry. To this some of his friends objecting, he was put apprentice to a shoemaker, who was also a grazier and a dealer in wool; but it seems George was principally employed in country business, and particularly in the care of sheep, an employment suitable to his retired disposition, and, as Wm. Penn observes, "a just figure of his after ministry and service." In this station he discharged his duties with great fidelity, and was remarkable for his veracity and sobriety; but his tender spirit was often oppressed with the inconsistent conduct of many religious professors, and great was the trouble of his innocent mind on this account. He was at this time frequently engaged in fervent prayer, and received, as he informs us, this divine intimation: "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth: thou must forsake all, young and old; keep out of all, and be as a stranger to all."

About the 20th year of his age, the exercise of his mind increased upon him so much, that he travelled to various parts of the country, with the hope of finding, among religious professors, some relief to his afflicted state; but for a time his conflicts of spirit continued, and he was tempted almost to despair. It does not however appear that this temptation was of long

duration, though he was, in other respects, much tried and tempted for two or three years. In the course of his travels he came by Lutterworth, Northampton, Newport-Pagnel, and Barnet, to London, where he was much affected with the general state of different religious societies, with none of whom he could freely unite. Here he heard that his relations were uneasy with his absence from home, which induced him to return to them. They seem to have been much strangers to the nature of his religious exercise; some of them proposing marriage, and others a military life, to remove that deep thoughtfulness which attended him on account of his soul's welfare, and those things which relate to the kingdom of God. During this time of sore conflict, he applied to several Ministers in different places for advice and assistance, but none of them afforded any relief to his tribulated spirit.

Whilst his mind was thus exercised, he received many precious openings of divine truths, and of the nature of Christ's kingdom; one proof of which he gave in his reply to the Priest of Drayton, who asked him, why Christ cried out on the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and why he said, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet

not my will but thine be done." To this George replied: "At that time the sins of all mankind were upon Christ, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear and to be an offering for, as he was man, but died not as he was God; so in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world." This answer greatly pleased the Priest, who, at that time, highly applauded George Fox, and would frequently make use of his observations in composing his own sermons. This man, however, afterwards became one of his persecutors.

Other subjects, connected with the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, were, about this time, presented to his understanding; particularly that human learning was not only insufficient, but unnecessary, for making a Minister of Christ; and that there was no extraordinary holiness in those places of religious worship, called churches, which were superstitiously regarded as "dreadful places, holy ground, and the temples of God." The great importance which was then, and has since been attached to human learning, he justly considered to be a means of preventing the free ministry of the gospel of Christ. The maintenance of the

Priests, which was forced from the people, whether hearers or not, appeared, to his understanding, not only inconsistent with the nature of gospel ministry, and the direction of its Author, who said to his disciples, "freely ye have received, freely give;" but he also considered it injurious to the cause of religion, by exciting in its ministers those feelings of ambition and avarice, by which their ministerial labours are often rendered fruitless, if not contemptible. But though he had great openings on these and other subjects, yet he was still liable to many temptations and much trouble of mind, so that when it was day he wished for night, and when it was night he wished for day; but this proved a profitable dispensation, deepening him in religious experience, and enabling him to adopt the words of David: "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." He found the various views in which different subjects were presented to his mind, to be consistent not only with each other, but also with the Holy Scriptures, with which he appears to have been early and intimately acquainted, and for which he had a very high esteem.

Whilst in this exercised state of mind, he travelled into Warwickshire. At Coventry, in the

year 1644, he took lodgings for a short time, and became acquainted with many serious tender-spirited people there. From this place he returned into Leicestershire; after which he again went into Warwickshire in the year 1645, passing by Mansetter, Tamworth, and Coventry; at which places he opened his situation to some Priests, high in religious profession; from whom, however, he received such advice and treatment as indicated that they were deficient in true religious experience. In the year 1646, he appears to have again taken up his residence at Coventry. The following year he went into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. In these counties he had many discourses with some well-disposed people, and in the latter he met with a woman named Elizabeth Hooton. This is the first person whom George Fox mentions by name, that we have reason to believe united with him, and, except himself, was the first public preacher of the doctrines professed by them. Whilst in these parts, his troubles and exercises continued: he fasted much; and, with no companion but his Bible, walked abroad in solitary places till night came on. Even during the night he frequently thus spent his time in solitude, and retirement from the world; and, like the forerunner of our blessed Lord, with others who have been distinguished for

eminent religious services, he was, in this state of seclusion, prepared for the services to which he appears to have been particularly called.

The troubles of this exercised man were not only attended with many religious prospects, but were also intermixed with much divine consolation. His own expressions, on this occasion, are these: "As I cannot declare the misery I was in, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me, in all my misery. Oh! the everlasting love of God to my soul, when I was in great distress: when my troubles and torments were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord! makest a fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field. Thou bringest down and settest up; thou killest and makest alive. All honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of Glory!"

The nature of the exercises into which he was introduced, and the openings which accompanied them, tended to draw him from the Priests of the established Church, and to look more after the Dissenters; yet he did not find amongst these, that which his soul sought after, or those who could speak to the tried condition of his mind; but when all hopes from others were gone, he heard a voice, which said to him,

"There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." This produced great relief to his exercised mind, and caused his heart to leap for joy. His desires after the Lord grew stronger, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without the help of any man or book, increased; for though he read the scriptures, which speak of Christ, yet he knew him not savingly, but by revelation, and as the Father drew him to his Son, by his Spirit.—Thus it pleased the Lord gently to lead him along, and to let him see that love which was eternal, surpassing all knowledge which men have in their natural state, or can obtain from books. This love frequently occupied his mind, and filled him with admiration, in contemplating its extent and infinity. Here he saw that all was done, and to be done, in and by Christ, who conquers and destroys the Devil and all his works. His heart was thus strengthened to trust in God; and hope, that anchor of the soul, stayed his often tossed mind, until he perceived that all his troubles and temptations were good for him; tending to establish his faith on Christ, the rock of ages, and qualifying him to minister feelingly to others, who might be similarly tried.

After passing through these dispensations, he became more easy in his mind, though not

altogether exempt from frequent inward sufferings; and he was soon after engaged to preach the gospel, or, as he calls it, "declare the truth to others." His first appearances as a minister, unless we consider the discourses which he mentions in Derbyshire and Nottingamshire, as such, took place at Duckenfield and Manchester, in the year 1647, when he was about twenty-three years of age. Some persons were convinced by his ministry, and united with him in religious fellowship; which was also the case after a large meeting at Broughton, in Leicestershire, and some others in Nottinghamshire. His ministry was so powerful, and his conduct so remarkable in various respects, that people came from far and near to see him; and a person of the name of Brown, when on his death-bed, foresaw and foretold the work which George Fox would be instrumental to accomplish. These circumstances, however, excited a fear in the mind of the latter, lest he should be drawn into self-exaltation; and this fear preserved him, at this time, and many others, from being carried away by the high opinion which some persons entertained of his gifts and services. The affectionate part in us, is apt to indulge itself too freely in expressions to those from whom religious benefits have been received; and it requires great care in those who are made instruments of good

to others, to keep in humility, and watchfulness, and remember the query—"What hast thou that thou hast not received?" In this respect there is good reason to believe that the subject of this memoir was, from his youth, a bright example.

Having now separated himself from all religious societies, he travelled in Nottinghamshire and the neighbouring counties, taking opportunities of various kinds, by which large multitudes of people were drawn together, to turn men from darkness to the light of Christ; frequently reproving them for their vices, and occasionally disputing with those that opposed his doctrines. Such was the success of his labours, in the year 1648, and the two years preceding, that divers Meetings of his Friends were established; and we are told that his fellow professors were gathered to the teaching of Christ, by that light, spirit, and power, which broke forth daily more and more wonderfully.

It has already been intimated, that the first motive which induced him to separate from other religious societies, was a conviction of the insufficiency of all human teaching, not under the influence of the holy Spirit, and of the sufficiency of that inward anointing which the Apostle says, teaches us all things; so that there

is no absolute necessity for those who are willing to attend to its instructions, that any man should teach them. Now also, in his going forth in religious service, he found it his duty to lay aside several complimentary practices, which he saw to be inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel of Christ. Such were the bowing of the body, and putting off the hat, from respect to persons or places; also the use of the plural number to a single person, with other complimentary expressions. His declining these practices subjected him to much obloquy and abuse, which manifested that the source from which they sprang, was pride; otherwise their being withheld would not have produced those dispositions of resentment, which were generally manifested. There is reason to suppose, that about this time he saw into the inconsistency of war with the peaceableness of Christ's kingdom, having declined several applications to accept places in the army.

The subjects of Water Baptism, and the Sacrament (as it is called) of the Lord's Supper, also claimed his serious consideration; the result of which was, that they were no longer necessary appendages to the Church of Christ, though they might have been used for a season, in condescension to the weakness of the early be-

lievers, many of whom being of the Jewish nation, were much attached to those things which were connected with their legal ceremonies. The mind of this enlightened man however saw them to be like those carnal ordinances, which were imposed only for a season, and he not only laid aside the use of them, but endeavoured to draw the minds of his hearers to that inward and invisible grace, of which the latter is declared by its very advocates, to be only a sign; and, whilst incapable of communicating the substance of true religion, these ceremonies are often a means of inducing those who use them, to rest in the shadow. The disuse of them therefore appeared to him most consistent with the spirituality of the gospel dispensation.

Whilst in this preparatory state of mind for the religious services to which he was called, he also saw how superficially many professors read the Holy Scriptures, without applying them properly to their own states, and to that glorious dispensation of the gospel of Christ, which they prefigure, foretell, and describe. The necessity of inward holiness, and that state of perfection, which the scriptures point out, was also forcibly impressed on his mind; and as a peculiar part of his mission, he was particularly favoured to see how every man was enlightened by the divine

light of Christ. This was indeed like the leading feature of his ministry; and, with the Apostle John, he could bear this testimony: "If we walk in the light as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

The following expressions are extracted from the account which he gives of the mission which he received. "I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light, that they might receive Christ Jesus. I was to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and up to Christ and God, as those had been who gave them forth. I was to turn them to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus. I saw Christ died for all men, was a propitiation for all, and enlightened all men and women with his divine and saving light. I saw that the grace of God, which brings salvation, had appeared to all men, and that the manifestation of the Spirit was given to every man to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by his immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written: yet I had no slight esteem for the

Holy Scriptures; they were very precious to me, for I was in that Spirit in which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things; but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depth of Satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom."

Again: "When the Lord God, and his Son Jesus Christ, sent me into the world to preach the everlasting gospel, I was glad that I was commanded to turn people to that inward light, Spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God, I was to bring people off from their old ways to Christ, the new and living way; from their churches which men had gathered, to the church in God; and off from the world's teachers made by men to Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life; and off from all the world's worships, to know the Spirit of truth, that in it they might worship the Father of spirits, who seeks such to worship him. I was to bring them off from all the world's fellowships, prayings and singings which stood in form without power, that their fellowship might be in the Holy Ghost; that they might pray in the Holy Ghost,

sing in the Spirit and with the grace that comes by Jesus, making melody in their hearts to the Lord. I was to bring people off from Jewish ceremonies, from heathenish fables, from men's inventions and windy doctrines, and from all their beggarly rudiments, with their schools and colleges for making ministers of Christ; and from all their images and crosses, and sprinkling of infants, with their holy days, (so called) with all their vain traditions, which had got up since the apostles' days, and which the Lord's power was against; in the dread and authority of which I was moved to declare against them all, and against all that preached and not freely, as such who had not received freely from Christ."

From the views which he entertained respecting divine worship and gospel ministry, it became a necessary consequence that the religious meetings of the new society, would be frequently held either wholly or partly in silence. A state of inward retirement and waiting upon God, appeared to him essential both for the performance of true worship, and for the exercise of gospel ministry; and worship being a communication between the spiritual part of man and that Divine Being, who, we are told, is a Spirit, the vocal use of words was not considered necessary, for the performance of this important duty, according to the doctrine of our blessed Redeemer: God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.

CHAP. II.

1649 *to* 1651—*Many convinced by his Ministry—Preaches in Places of Public Worship—Imprisoned at Nottingham, but soon released—Long Imprisonment at Derby—Many remarkable Circumstances occur there.*

FROM the foregoing description of George Fox's mission, it may reasonably be expected that much hostility would be excited against him, particularly by those with whose worldly interests his doctrine interfered. Indeed not only the Priests, but Magistrates and others manifested great opposition to those practices and doctrines which he inculcated. Great were the sufferings which he and his friends underwent; but although this was the case, yet many were made sensible of the rectitude of their testimony, and considerable additions were made to the number of those who, being convinced of the truths preached, were willing to make public profession of them, notwithstanding the reproach and sufferings which they induced.

Besides the doctrines which he publickly taught, he was much engaged in private admonition to people in different stations of life, to promote the discharge of their respective duties. Judges of the law, justices of the peace and other magistrates; parents of children, masters of servants, and school-

masters, were all the subjects of his concern and labour of love; nor did those in the inferior departments of life escape his notice, for the promotion of their best interests. He also publickly testified against wakes, feasts, maygames, sports, plays, music and the public exhibitions of mountebanks; considering these diversions as being calculated to destroy that religion and virtue which are essential to the true happiness of man, both here and hereafter. In fairs and markets he was also led to warn the people against fraud and deceit; exhorting them to deal justly, to speak the truth, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Thus, in his labours, he united a concern both for religious and moral principle, which he seems to have carried with him through life.

The nature of his religious exercise sometimes led him to attend the places of public worship, against a superstitious reverence for which, and the conduct of those who ministered in them, his zeal was very strong; and once, at Nottingham, led him to interrupt a Priest whilst preaching, conceiving him to be perverting a text of scripture. But though his mind was frequently drawn to embrace these opportunities of publishing his doctrines, his general practice was to wait till the public service was over, and then endeavour to re-

lieve his mind. In those times this appears to have been not an uncommon practice, and I have seen it mentioned as such in some history. The consequence of his zeal at Nottingham, was, that he was seized and put into a filthy prison. This, however, proved the means of spreading his principles, and one of the sheriffs of Nottingham, John Reckles, with his wife, were convinced by the discourse which they had with George Fox; and several Priests also confessed to the power of the Lord which accompanied his ministry. At Nottingham he was committed to prison, where it appears he continued for a few months; and having liberty, at times, to go into the town, he employed it in promulgating those doctrines which he apprehended himself called to preach.

After his liberation, he came to Mansfield-Woodhouse, where, in consequence of exhorting the priest and people in their place of worship, he was seized and put into the stocks for several hours; but being afterwards taken before some magistrates, he was, after much threatening, set at liberty. The rude people stoned him out of the town, by which he was much injured, but soon recovered the effects of his blows and wounds. Notwithstanding this treatment, the cause which he had espoused gained ground, and that day several "were convinced of the Lord's truth, and turned to his teaching."

From Mansfield he came through Leicestershire to Coventry, in order to visit some persons who, he had heard, were imprisoned there on account of religion. He did not find them such as he expected; but as he was walking to the jail, his soul was inwardly saluted with the following words: "My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love." On this he remarks, "I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man."

Travelling by Atherstone, Market-Bosworth, Twycross, Chesterfield, and Kidsey-Park, and meeting with much rude treatment, he came to Derby about the year 1650. Here he was engaged to preach to the people after the usual service was finished; many of the army and clergy being present. Whilst preaching, he did not meet with much interruption; but was afterwards taken, with two of his friends, before the magistrates, and underwent an examination of about eight hours. Among other questions they asked him if any of them were Christ? To which George Fox answered, "Nay, we are nothing, Christ is all." It is proper to be the more particular in mentioning this question, with the answer, because it has frequently been alleged against George Fox, and some of our antient friends, that they assumed the character of Christ, of which this is a complete confutation. The charge was often repeated afterwards, and as often denied.

After having wearied themselves with this tedious examination, the Magistrates committed George Fox and one of those who were with him, to the House of Correction for six months, as blasphemers; with what reason it is difficult to conceive; but, at this time, party spirit was extremely violent, both in religion and politics. The kingly Government had been lately abolished, by the execution of Charles the First, and the Commonwealth, instead of affording an increase of religious toleration, at least equalled their predecessors in violence and persecution. Though they might be sincere in the professions which they had made, yet their passions had become so inflamed with a spirit of animosity, probably heightened by their success over the opposite party, that they lost all appearance of consistency, and liberty of conscience was restrained as much at least, as it had been in those times of which they complained. In forming an estimate of character at this period, all parties should make considerable allowances for the temper of the times; and although George Fox and his friends were so far from persecution, that they would very rarely take advantage of the law, by prosecuting their enemies for their cruel and illegal conduct, yet perhaps it would be too much to say that their zeal never exceeded its proper bounds.

He continued in the House of Correction at Derby, for six months, after which time

he was nearly six months longer in the County Jail. During this time, several incidents occurred which are worthy of notice. The keeper of the prison was, at first, greatly enraged against him, and spoke wickedly of him; but he soon became much troubled for his conduct, and George overheard him saying to his wife, "I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I have done him so much wrong, and have spoken so much against him to the Ministers and Professors, and to the Justices, and in taverns and alehouses." After this, he came into George's chamber, and said to him, "I have been as a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling." He also acknowledged that he and his house had been plagued for George's sake; of which he next day informed the Justices, one of whom said that the plagues were upon them too. A sister also of the gaoler went to visit George. To her he communicated some religious advice, which had a good effect on her mind, and she said respecting him and his friends, that "they were an innocent people, who did none any hurt, but did good to all, even to those that hated them."

These circumstances produced some lenity in the minds of the Justices, who gave leave for him to walk to the distance of a mile; the intent of

which appears to have been, that he might have opportunity to escape, which they supposed he would readily embrace; but in this they were mistaken, his upright principle not permitting him to accept his liberty in this way.

Whilst he was confined in the House of Correction, his relations came to visit him, and offered, with others of Derby, to be bound that he should come there no more to declare against the priests; but to this he could not consent, not only because the condition was such as he could not agree to, but because he was innocent of any improper conduct which required a bond for his future behaviour. This greatly enraged Justice Bennett, whose violent conduct induced George to pray for forgiveness for him. Whilst he was on his knees, Bennett ran violently upon him, and struck him with both his hands, crying, "Away with him, gaoler, take him away, gaoler." He was now brought back to the prison, where he continued the remainder of the six months; but having the liberty of walking a mile, he sometimes went into the market and streets, warning the people to repent of their wickedness; and there being persons of different religious professions in the prison, he occasionally visited them in their meetings.

When the time fixed for his imprisonment was nearly expired, strong attempts were made, to in-

duce him to accept a Captaincy in the army; and the soldiers even said they would have none but him. The Commissioners also offered him that preferment, and even pressed it upon him, but their endeavours were in vain. He told them that he knew whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to the doctrine of the Apostle James: and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power, which took away the occasion of war. When they found that their importunities were in vain, they became angry, and ordered the gaoler to take him away, and put him amongst rogues and felons. The prison in which he was confined was a most noisome place, infested with filthy vermin. There were thirty felons in it, and not a single bed to sleep on. Here he was confined nearly half a year more, with liberty occasionally to walk in the garden.

During his confinement, there was in the jail, a woman who was committed for robbing her master. For her George Fox interfered so far, as to write to the Judge and Jury, stating how contrary it was to the law of God, in old time, to put people to death for stealing; and pressing them to show mercy to the poor woman. She was, however, condemned to die, and actually taken to the place of execution. George Fox, not being able to be present, wrote a paper, which he desired to

be read to the people, warning them against covetousness, and those vices, which lead to so disgraceful a termination of life. The woman, though on the ladder, with her face covered, was reprieved, and brought back to prison; and such, it seems, was the effect of George Fox's labours for her good, that she was convinced of the truth of the doctrines which he taught.

The subject of punishment by death, for crimes affecting property only, seems to have closely engaged his attention whilst a prisoner here; and he not only wrote to the Judges on this subject, but also on the long confinement of prisoners before they were brought to trial. His capacious mind seems to have embraced almost every subject connected with the happiness of man; and the justness and liberality of his views were extraordinary. Justice and mercy he often pressed closely on those persons in high stations, who had the administration of them; and when they deviated from their duty, he frequently reproved them, and advised them to a different conduct. Whilst in prison at Derby, he addressed many short but pertinent exhortations and warnings to the priests and magistrates who had been the means of his imprisonment. The wickedness that prevailed in the town of Derby deeply affected his mind, and he warned the inhabitants of the consequences of their conduct. Being now deprived of the

opportunity of travelling, he published two or three papers, to be spread among his friends and others, to instruct and confirm them in the principles which he was concerned to promulgate. Thus did this diligent labourer in the gospel of Christ lose no opportunity of promoting the cause of truth and righteousness on earth.

It was while he was a prisoner at Derby, or perhaps at his first examination, that the name of Quakers was given to him and his friends.—He was exhorting Gervas Bennett, already mentioned, and some other persons who were in company, to tremble at the word of the Lord; on which Bennett contemptuously called the friends of George Fox, Quakers, by which name they have since that time been distinguished.

The Magistrates not being able to accomplish any of their objects by imprisonment, and growing uneasy with their conduct towards their prisoner, devised various means for liberating him; but not agreeing among themselves, they at length turned him out of jail in as irregular and arbitrary a manner as they had detained him. This was in the early part of the winter of 1651.

About eleven years after his release, he received the following letter from the Keeper of the House of Correction, which, though not in the order of time, may most properly be introduced here. It manifests the beneficial effects of that patient suf-

fering and faithful labour, in the cause of truth and righteousness, which remarkably characterised the life of this innocent man.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition; remembering that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument; so that sometimes I am taken with admiration, that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times think of the Jailer's coversion by the Apostles. O happy George Fox! that first breathed that breath of life within the walls of my habitation.

"Notwithstanding my outward losses are, since that time, such that I am become nothing in the world; yet I hope I shall find, that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more and exceeding weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now, instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me that my faith fail not; but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life.

"I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my kind love to thee, and all Christian Friends with thee, in haste, I rest

Thine in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS SHARMAN."

"*Derby, 22d of the 4th Month*, 1652."

CHAP. III.

1651 *and* 1652.—*Extraordinary concern at Litchfield. Travels through Nottinghamshire into Yorkshire, &c. where there are great convincements.*

AFTER George Fox was liberated from his confinement at Derby, he travelled again in his religious engagements. At Litchfield he was concerned to go without his shoes through the streets of the city, and to cry, "Wo to the bloody city of Litchfield." So strong was an impression of some extraordinary circumstance upon his mind, that as he passed along, there appeared to be a channel of blood running down the strects, and the market place was like a pool of blood. After this engagement, he was thoughtful what could be the cause of his concern, not knowing of any circumstance which should warrant so singular a declaration; but he afterwards understood, that during the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian, above 1000 Christians were put to death in this place, from which it obtained its present name, signifying the Field of dead bodies. Such was the sensibility that attended the mind of this exercised man, that circumstances of this kind frequently affected him in diffesent places, in the course of his journies.*

* The relation of this singular concern at Litchfield, has been censured, because it seems to imply some punishment

Continuing his travels, he came through Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire into Yorkshire, and preached repentance through the streets of Doncaster and several other places. At Balby, near Doncaster, he continued awhile, and Richard Farnsworth, with several others, was convinced there. Afterwards he visited Wakefield, Selby, and Beverley. At Selby, he seems to have parted with his horse, and travelled on foot. At Beverley, he went to the public place of worship, and after the Minister had finished his sermon, George was concerned to speak to him and the people, in order to turn them to the true teacher, Christ Jesus. Here he met with no material molestations, but passed quietly out of the town and went

on the inhabitants, for a crime which had been perpetrated many centuries before, by Heathens on Christians. But I do not consider the word, Wo, as always conveying a denunciation of judgment. On examining Bailey's Dictionary, I find, he explains Wo, by "grief, trouble, sorrow." Dr. Johnson gives the same signification, with other meanings of the word; and he also notices it, as an exclamation of sorrow. In this sense, and as relating to the past, rather than the future, George Fox no doubt used the expression. This appears clear from the context, for he himself explains what he apprehended was the cause of his using the words in question, and which he imputes to the circumstance already mentioned. There is nothing in his own account, which conveys any apprehension in him, that some judgments would fall upon the place, for this massacre; but it simply conveys the sympathetic feelings of his tender mind.

to another place of worship, where he met with a kind reception, and the people desired him to come again, and preach among them. Next day he went to Captain Pursloe's, at Cranswick, whom he had also visited at his house near Selby. He seems very much to have favoured George Fox, and accompanied him to several places in this neighbourhood. He also introduced him to Justice Hotham, who was a man of religious experience, and proved very friendly to George, on various occasions. Whilst they were at this house, a woman of quality came to the Justice on business; and in the course of conversation, told him, that "the last Sabbath day, there was an angel or spirit came into the church at Beverley, and spake the wonderful things of God, to the astonishment of all that were there; and when it had done, it passed away, and they did not know whence it came nor whither it went; but it astonished all, priests, professors, and magistrates." This the Justice related to George, who informed him that he had been that day at Beverley, and had preached to the people there.

In the course of his travels, he came to York, where he found several persons seriously disposed, and ready to receive his doctrine. Whilst in this city, he went to the Cathedral, on a first day; and when the priest had finished his sermon, George told them that he had something to communicate,

The weather being cold, he was desired to speak quickly; on which he said, that "this was the word of the Lord to them, that they lived in words, but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them." He was not suffered to proceed, but was immediately taken out of the place, and thrown down the steps, yet was not materially injured. After finishing his service here, he travelled into Cleveland. In his way thither, he came to Borrowby, where many people were convinced, and a large meeting was established. In Cleveland, he found a people who had tasted of the divine power, but not waiting in patience and humility, though there had been large meetings of them, they were much scattered, and the heads of them turned Ranters.* Amongst these people he was concerned to labour for their restoration. Most of them were convinced of the truth of his doctrines, and a Meeting was established.

It was now the depth of winter, in the year 1651, and the snow was very deep; but such was his zeal, that he continued travelling. At Stathes, near Whitby, he had some large meetings; and

* The Ranters in the beginning, had the name of Seekers, and were at first a serious, humble-minded people; but becoming exalted in their imaginations, they ran into many extravagancies of opinion and practice, which caused them to have the name of Ranters.

many received the truth; amongst whom was a man of 100 years of age, the chief constable, and a priest of the name of Philip Scaife. Here he was concerned to reprove the priest of the parish, for exacting tithe money for fish caught at a distance, and carried to another port. He had also a public dispute with a Scotch priest, and some Ranters, which afforded him an opportunity of preaching to the people, and promulgating his doctrine. The Scotch priest was greatly enraged, and manifested a design against the life of George Fox. A few years afterwards, both this priest and his wife were convinced, and George visited them at their own house, the next time he came into these parts, which was in the year 1663. Great was the commotion which was excited among the priests in particular; and when they heard of George Fox coming among them, they would frequently go out of the way, though they might before have boasted of what they would do when he came. To use his own expressions, "They were struck with the dread of the eternal power of God, and fear surprised the hypocrites."

He next visited Whitby and Scarborough, where large meetings were soon after settled. Afterwards he came to Malton, taking part of the Wolds on his way. Here, and in the neighbourhood, he continued some time, and many joined him in religious fellowship, some of whom had

entertained considerable prejudice against him; for the report of him had spread greatly in the country. One woman, who was a high professor among the Independents, was so inveterate, before he came there, that she said she would willingly go to see him hanged; but after he came she was convinced, and continued a Friend. At Malton he went into the usual place of worship, where the Priest was preaching to no more than eleven hearers; but after it was known that George Fox was gone there, the place was soon filled. After the Priest had finished, George was invited into the pulpit, which he thought proper to decline, and desiring all to be quiet, he stepped upon a high seat, and there delivered what he had to say, without any interruption; after which he departed in peace.

Leaving Malton, he came to Pickering at the time of the Sessions, Justice Robinson being chairman. Whilst the business of the Sessions was transacting, George had a meeting in the school-house, to which many priests and others came. Four chief constables and one priest were convinced. This, it is most probable, was the priest of Pickering. He was a great favourite with the justice, who was soon informed of the circumstance. The next morning George went with the four chief constables and some others, to visit Justice Robinson, who received him very kindly,

and acknowledged the rectitude of that religious instruction which George communicated. At parting, the justice spake encouragingly to him, saying, "It was very well that he should exercise the gift which God had given him." He also desired the constables to give George some money, which he offered to them for that purpose, wishing him not to be at any expense in their country; but they told him that they could not prevail on George to accept any money from them, which they had already offered. Yet though he declined accepting the money; he gratefully acknowledged the justice's kindness.

Great was the openness with which he was received in these parts. At one place the bells were ringing when he came to it, of which he, inquiring the cause, was told, that it was for him to preach. After some deliberation, he concluded to go to the steeple-house, and was invited in; but seeing the people gathered in the yard, he preferred preaching to them there. All was quiet, and a great convincement took place. At another town in the neighbourhood, he sat some hours in silence before he began to preach; and such was the power which afterwards attended his ministry, that the people were generally reached, and brought to acknowledge the truth of his doctrine. An ancient priest, who was among those who had been convinced by George Fox's ministry, accom-

panied him awhile, and as they were passing along the road, some people called out, " Mr. Boyes, we owe you some money for tithes, pray come and take it;" but he threw up his hands and said, he had enough, they might keep it, and he praised the Lord that he had enough.

After travelling some time, he came again to Captain Pursloe's, and Justice Hotham's, where he met with a kind reception; and they expressed their satisfaction with the success of his gospel labours. The Justice said to him, that if God had not raised up that principle of light and life, which he preached, the nation would have been overrun with Ranterism; with more to the same purpose.

He now went into Holderness, having meetings at several places till he came to Patrington. Here he preached to the priest and people in the street; and when it grew dark, he went to an inn, where he was refused both meat and lodging; which was also the case at two other houses. Upon this he took a little water at a ditch, and sat down among the furze bushes till it was day. When he departed from this place the next morning, he was followed by a man with a pikestaff, to a neighbouring town, and this man raised the constables and inhabitants, to whom, however, George declared the truth, and exhorted them to repentance;

but they seized him, and took him back to Patrington. Here one of the inhabitants gave him some milk and bread, which would no doubt be very grateful, he having eaten nothing for some days before. After this, he was taken to a Justice of the Peace, who having examined him, soon set him at liberty, and he returned to Patrington, where he had further religious service, without any molestation. Many were convinced of the truth, and continued faithful witnesses of it. After going to the extremity of Holderness, and having meetings at several places, with his usual success, he returned again to Patrington, when some who had been the means of his being brought before the Justice, came and asked forgiveness, which George freely gave, at the same time warning them to amend their lives. Justice Hotham had already interfered in his favour, and asked him whether any had abused him; but says George, "I was not to tell him any thing of that kind, but was to forgive all." This performance of the duty of forgiveness, on all occasions, forms an excellent trait in the character of George Fox, and shewed that he had learned in the school of him, who, when suffering on the cross, prayed for his persecutors, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."

After travelling some time in Holderness, and meeting with variety of reception, he came to Hull, where he obtained a comfortable lodging, which

of late had seldom been afforded him. He found himself much fatigued with travelling on foot, and with the exercises of body and mind, through which he passed. At Hull, he seems to have tarried but a short time; yet whilst there he admonished the people to turn to Christ Jesus, that they might receive salvation. He left Hull, and proceeded towards Balby, near Doncaster, and thence through part of Nottinghamshire into Lincolnshire. At Gainsborough he found one of his friends had been preaching in the market, which had occasioned considerable disturbance. A man came to this place, who had before accused George Fox of saying that he was Christ; and repeating the same false accusation here, the people were with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands on George; but he, standing up, denied the charge, telling the people "that Christ was in them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Christ who spoke in him, and not that he was Christ." With this explanation the people were satisfied; and the man who raised this false accusation, some time after put an end to his own life. Notwithstanding much opposition, many persons were effectually reached by George Fox's ministry, in these parts, and "were gathered to the Lord's heavenly teaching."

He returned again into Yorkshire, and at Warmsworth was very rudely treated in the public worship house; after which the people beat him

with staves, and threw earth and stones at him; the priest himself laying violent hands upon him. He returned their cruel treatment, with an exhortation to them to repent, and turn to Christ. At Doncaster and Tickhill, he met with similar treatment, for which he returned similar exhortations. At the latter place, the clerk struck his face with the bible, which caused it to bleed much; and the priest reviled him, and those who were with him, calling them Quakers; but afterwards, while George was preaching, the priest was so much affected, that he began to tremble; which produced this remark from a person present: "Look how the Priest trembles and shakes, he is turned a Quaker also." Some Justices hearing of the violent conduct of the people, met to examine into the business, and the clerk was afraid of having his hand cut off, for striking in the church; but George Fox, as usual, forgave him, and would not appear against him."

About this time, (1652) a great opposition was raised in the West of Yorkshire, against George Fox and his friends; and a warrant was issued against him and Thomas Aldam, of Warmsworth; but it was executed only on the latter, who was sent to York Castle: and George travelled towards Wakefield, near which place lived James Naylor, who had been at a meeting with George, before he came there, and was convinced. Tra-

velling on, and preaching at various places where he came, he passed by High Town, Bradford, &c. to Wensleydale. At the market town, (Askrigg, I suppose) there was a public lecture on the market day, which he attended; and after the priest had finished, George had an opportunity of relieving his mind to the people, without any or much interruption. He travelled in the Dales for a considerable time, and came to the neighbourhood of Sedbergh, where, at Justice Benson's, he attended a meeting of a people who were separated from the public worship, and of whom he had had a vision some time before, as of a great people in white raiment. The meeting was very large, and the people generally convinced through his ministry. He had several other meetings in this neighbourhood, where also many were convinced, and joined him in religious fellowship. Among them was a Captain Ward, of whom he says, that he received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it.

CHAP. IV.

1652—*Visits several places in Westmoreland and Lancashire. His first visits at Judge Fell's, Swarthmore Hall. Is cruelly treated at the Isle of Walney. Predicts the Dissolution of the Long Parliament.*

FROM Yorkshire, George Fox went to Firbank Chapel, in Westmoreland: near which, on a first day afternoon, he had a large meeting. Above 1000 people were supposed to be present, to whom he preached about three hours, opening to them the types and shadows of the law, and the predictions of the prophets, and directing them to Christ the substance; many of whose parables and sayings, with the writings of the Apostles, he also explained. The Lord's power accompanying his ministry, it reached the hearts of the people, many of whom were convinced, including all the teachers of that congregation, who it seems were Independents. Among them were Francis Howgill, and John Audland. With the latter George Fox went home; and the next day he held another large meeting at Preston-Patrick Chapel, from which place he went to Kendal. Here a meeting was appointed in the Town Hall, in which his ministry was attended with the usual success. At Underbarrow, and at Crook, many, to use his own words, "were convinced, received the word of

life, and stood fast in it, under the teaching of Christ Jesus." Among these, it appears, was Edward Burrough, with whom George had much reasoning, previously to the meeting.

Leaving Westmoreland, he came to Newton in Cartmel, which is in Lancashire. Here he met with some rude treatment, in attempting to preach after the priest had finished; but John Brathwaite, a young man who was taking down the priest's sermon, was effectually reached, and became a minister of the gospel. Many, in this part of the country, received the truth, and abode in it. Soon after this, he came to Ulverstone, and went to Swarthmore, about a mile distant, to Judge Fell's. This place is memorable for many circumstances which will be detailed in his future history. Here he met with a priest of the name of Lampit, high, it seems, in notion, but dark in understanding. With him George had much controversy at Swarthmore. At one part of the dispute, Margaret Fell (the Judge's wife) was present, and her eyes were opened, to see beyond the priest and his doctrine, so that she and her family were in some degree convinced. The Judge, at this time, was from home, on the Welch circuit. A day being appointed for a public humiliation, George Fox found his mind engaged to attend the place of public worship at Ulverstone. When he entered the house, Lampit, the priest, was singing with the people, which

George considered so unsuitable to their states, that he spake to the priest and people what he felt on his mind. A Justice present called to have him taken away, but Margaret Fell interfered in his favour, and he was permitted to speak awhile longer; but being afterwards taken out, he finished his communication in the grave yard.

He continued a considerable time in the neighbourhood of Swarthmore, frequently returning to that place as his head quarters. At Ramside he met with Thomas Lawson, a priest of considerable eminence. He kindly offered Geo. Fox his chapel, and having informed the people in the morning that George was coming there in the afternoon, the priest did not attempt to preach himself. It appears to have been a memorable meeting. Many received the truth in the love of it, among whom Thomas Lawson was one; who thereupon ceased to preach for hire, and afterwards preached the Lord Jesus and his kingdom freely. After this, George went to Dalton, and to the island of Walney, where, among others, James Lancaster was convinced; as was Leonard Fell at Becliff. He next went to Gleaston, where he had a quiet peaceable meeting in a new chapel, that had not before been used. Here again many were convinced by his ministry.

Returning again to Swarthmore, several of the family were fully convinced of the truth of his

doctrines. Leaving them for a short time, he went again into Westmoreland, and to the borders of Yorkshire, where he had large meetings among those who had already received his ministry; but being informed of the return of Judge Fell to his own house, he felt inclined to go again to Swarthmore. The Priests and others had endeavoured to incense the Judge against him; but when George came, he explained matters so much to the Judge's satisfaction, and so fully answered all his objections, that he became fully satisfied of the rectitude of George Fox's ministry; and, after some time, he declined going to hear the Priests, though he did not fully join in religious fellowship with Friends. His house, however, was always open for their reception, and he frequently used his influence to check the persecuting spirit, which was manifested by some Magistrates and Priests in those parts. To his wife and four daughters, who, being fully convinced, had joined in society with George Fox and his friends, the Judge allowed full liberty to act consistently with the principles which they had imbibed; and he treated them with great kindness. He even permitted a meeting to be established at his house, which continued to be held there nearly forty years.

After the establishment of the meeting at Swarthmore, George came again to Underbarrow, and

went thence to Kellett, where he had a large meeting at Robert Widders's, to which several came from Lancaster, and some from York; and many were again convinced. Coming to Lancaster on the market-day, he embraced that opportunity of preaching to the people. "I preached (he says) righteousness and truth unto them, which all should follow after, walk and live in; directing them how and where they might find the Spirit of God to guide them thereinto." At Lancaster he had several religious opportunities, and many received his testimony, and continued faithful to the truth, though he met with some rude treatment in this town. At a place in this neighbourhood, a Doctor was so irritated against him, as to say that he "could find in his heart to run him through with his rapier, though he was to be hanged for it the next day." This man, however, was so far convinced, that he became kind to Friends. In this and many other instances, in the life of George Fox, we see the fulfilment of the gospel prophecy: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb; and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."

Returning into Westmoreland, he came again to Kendal and Underbarrow, and afterwards to Swarthmore. Here and at Ulverstone he was

much engaged in preaching, and in disputations with the Priests. One of them, Thomas Taylor, an ancient man, was convinced; and the day after his convincement, at Crosland, where he went with George Fox, he was engaged to preach publickly amongst the people, and, like the good Scribe, brought out of the treasury, things new and old. His brother, Christopher Taylor, likewise a preacher, was also convinced, and became a Minister among Friends. Many were now sent forth on the same religious service, among whom George Fox mentions John Audland, Francis Howgill, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Hubbersty, and Miles Halhead; in consequence of whose labours, meetings were established in various parts of the nation.

Whilst some of the Priests were brought into a right sense of the nature of gospel ministry, others appeared much disturbed in their minds, and endeavoured to excite the magistrates to persecution; but though some of George Fox's friends were sent to prison, he still retained his liberty, and continued his gospel labours in these parts with great success. Some of the Priests pretended to prophecy, that within a month the Quakers would be all scattered and come to nothing; but the sequel proved that their predictions were dictated by their animosity, and not by the Spirit of Truth.

At Ulverstone he met with much cruel treatment at the instigation of Justice Sawrey, who seems to have been the first promoter of persecution in the North. George was preaching to the people, who heard him quietly and gladly, till the Justice incensed them against him; when the ruder part of them seized him, and by the Justice's order he was dragged out of the town. There, after being severely beaten till he was senseless, he fell on the wet common, and continued in that situation for some time. When he recovered, he lay still awhile, and was favoured to feel divine refreshment to his soul. Rising up, he said to the people about him, "Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks." One man, a mason, was rude enough to strike him a severe blow with his rule on the hand. The people afterwards quarrelled among themselves, and George, notwithstanding all their cruel treatment, was strengthened to preach unto them, endeavouring to convince them of the impropriety of their conduct, and its inconsistency with true christianity. He returned soon to Ulverstone, and went into the market, when a soldier with his rapier, offered to protect him, but George declined it, and seeing the soldier endeavouring to defend some other friends with his drawn rapier, he prevailed on him to withdraw, lest some mischief should occur. Going to Swarthmore,

George found the family there occupied in dressing the wounds of several friends who had been hurt that day by the enraged populace. He was himself much bruised by the abuse which he had met with, but does not seem to have been otherwise injured.

In reading the memoirs of this excellent man, the mind is unavoidably struck with the courage, patience, and meekness with which he bore the cruel treatment that he often received. Soon after the foregoing circumstance, he went to the Isle of Walney a second time, where the barbarous people treated him and his companions in a shocking manner. At one town the people came upon him with pitchforks, flails, and staves, crying, "Kill him, knock him on the head, bring the cart, and carry him away to the church-yard." He was so much abused, that after walking to the house of a friend, he could scarcely speak. James Naylor, who was with him, also suffered much on this occasion. Margaret Fell, hearing of the cruel treatment they had met with, sent a horse for George to ride on to her house; but it was with great difficulty and pain that he could bear the motion of the horse. After his return to Swarthmore, Judge Fell sent warrants to apprehend some of those riotous persons, and desired George to give him a relation of their abusive conduct; but this he declined, and

the Judge told his wife, that he spake of it as a man that had not been concerned. "Indeed (says George) the Lord's power healed me."

When he returned from the Isle of Walney, he found that two Justices had issued a warrant against him, the execution of which was prevented by Judge Fell. George hearing of the warrant, came to the Sessions at Lancaster, where forty Priests appeared against him. They had provided one young Priest and two Priests' sons, to bear witness that they had heard him speak blasphemy; but when they came before the Court, they could not support their charge, which produced a reprimand from the Bench. Several respectable persons were in Court, who had been present when the pretended blasphemous words were said to have been spoken, and they declared there that the oath which the witnesses had taken, was altogether false. The Justices were fully convinced of George Fox's innocency, and one of them, Colonel West, said to him in open Court, "George, if thou hast any thing to say, thou mayest freely declare it." This gave him an opportunity which he found it right to embrace; and though some opposition was made by a few of the Priests, yet he was enabled so to confute them, that they left the Court in a rage. George Fox was fully cleared of the charges brought against him, the

malice of the Priests was exposed, and a great convincement took place. Among the number convinced was Justice Benson, of Westmoreland, and Major Ripan, the Mayor of Lancaster.

After staying two or three days at Lancaster, where he met with some rude treatment, he left the place; and returned to it at the time of the Assizes, when the Priests, assisted by some evil-disposed Justices, endeavoured to influence Judge Windham against him. They were so far successful, that the Judge made a speech in open Court, and ordered Colonel West, who was Clerk of the Assize, to issue a warrant for his apprehension. This the Colonel refused, and the Judge commanding him either to write the warrant, or leave his seat, he again refused, and told the Judge that he would offer up all his estate, and body also, in support of George Fox. This put the Judge to a stand, and defeated the object of those who had so improperly influenced him. George, soon after he came to Lancaster, went to the chambers of Judge Fell and Colonel West, who smiled at him, and one of them said, "What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?" He staid in the town till the Judge left it, walking the streets publicly, but no one laid hands on him. "Thus (says he) the Lord's blessed power which is over all, carried me through and over this exercise, gave dominion over his enemies, and enabled me to go on in his glorious work and service, for his great name's sake.

Leaving Lancaster, he came to Robert Widder's, and had a large meeting at Thomas Leper's, after which he narrowly escaped a plot which had been laid for his life. Calling at Justice (or Colonel) West's, in the way, he came again to Swarthmore, visiting his friends, and writing letters to Magistrates, Priests, and others thereaway, reproving them, and exhorting them to repentance and amendment of life. Having cleared his mind by these epistles, he returned into Westmoreland, where he was again waylaid, with a design, it appears, to take his life, but he was preserved from the snare. He had several disputes with the Priests, two of whom attempted to prove that the Scriptures were the Word of God. George admitted that they were the Words of God, but not, as one of them asserted, "God the Word," which was Christ. The Priests were unable to prove their assertion, and many of the people saw the errors of their teachers.

About the beginning of the year 1653, he returned again to Swarthmore, and visited several meetings in Lancashire. One day, when Judge Fell and Justice Benson were conversing on the

state of public affairs, and particularly respecting the long parliament, which was then sitting, George Fox, who was present, told them, that before that day two weeks, the parliament would be broken up, and the speaker plucked from the chair. This was literally verified, and Justice Benson told Judge Fell that he now perceived George was a prophet, Cromwell having broken up the parliament within the time mentioned.

CHAP. V.

1653—*Fasts ten Days—Visits Cumberland—Anthony Pearson and many others are convinced—Is arrested at Carlisle, and committed to Prison—After his Liberation, goes into Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland.*

IT appears that George Fox was sometimes in the practice of fasting, when his mind was particularly exercised. About this time he was engaged to fast for ten days, on account of two of his friends getting up into pride and self-exaltation, and running out into imaginations: but through his labour with them, they were brought to see their error, and to condemn it.

Hearing that some persons in Cumberland threatened, that if he came there, they would take away his life, he felt his mind drawn to go thither, and went directly into those parts from which the threatenings came, regardless of the danger to which he was exposed; but when he came there, they had no power to touch him. He returned again into Lancashire, and being on a visit at Colonel West's, he was informed that Anthony Pearson, a Justice of the Peace for three counties, was at Swarthmore. The Colonel advised George to go there, saying, "it may be of great service to the man;" accordingly he went, and Anthony Pearson was effectually reached by his ministry.

Soon after, he and his wife accompanied George to Bootle, in Cumberland; where Anthony left him, and went to the Sessions at Carlisle. At Bootle, George went into the place of public worship, and when the priest had done, began to speak; but the people were very rude, and beat him violently; this however did not deter him from going to the same place in the afternoon. A priest from London, of great repute, was preaching when George went in; and applying what is said in the scriptures, respecting false prophets, antichrists, and deceivers, to him and his friends. When the priest had finished, George, repeating the same scriptures, showed their applicability to the priest, and to such as him. The priest interrupting him, and forbidding him to speak, George replied to him, that, he having his hour glass, by which he had preached and finished his sermon, the time was now as free for one as for the other, both of them being strangers. After this, George had a full opportunity to communicate what he had to say to the people. When he had finished, the priests manifested much anger, and some others were mischievously disposed, but none were permitted to injure him.

Whilst at Bootle, he sent to have a meeting appointed near Cockermouth, which was largely attended. It proved an extraordinary opportunity;

many hundreds were convinced, who received the Lord Jesus Christ, and his free teaching, with gladness. Among them were twelve soldiers and their wives. On the First Day following, George was at Cockermouth, where, when he attempted to speak after the priest, the people began to be rude; but the soldiers informing them that no law was broken, they became quiet, and George Fox declared to them the way of life and truth, directing them to Christ their teacher, who died for them, and bought them with his blood. In the afternoon, he went to Brigham, where great companies followed him. Being invited into the worship house, and seeing no other convenient place, he accepted it. "A fine opportunity," says he, "the Lord gave me to preach the truth that day, for about three hours; and all was quiet; many hundreds were convinced, and some of them praised God, and said, "Now we know the first step to peace."

Several circumstances occurred about this time, which evinced that he had a peculiar gift of discerning the spirits of those he met with; one of which it may be sufficient to relate. Seeing a woman at a distance, he cast his eyes upon her, and said, "Thou hast been a harlot." She replied, that "many could tell her of her outward sins, but none of her inward;" to which he

answered, that her heart was not right before the Lord, and from the inward came the outward. This woman was afterwards convinced, and became a Friend.

Leaving the neighbourhood of Cockermouth, he went to Coldbeck, and thence to Carlisle, having meetings at several places, at which divers were convinced. At Carlisle, he had a meeting in the Cathedral, and another among the soldiers at the Castle, where he met with but little opposition, and some of the soldiers were convinced. He also preached on the market day at the cross, and on First Day, went to the public worship house; where, as usual, when the priest had ended his sermon, he preached to the people; which occasioned considerable tumult, and the next day the Magistrates granted a warrant to apprehend him. Being brought before them, he laid open the fruits of their priests' ministry, and their own high profession; for they were Presbyterians and Independents, as were the persecutors in general in those days, the Episcopalians having then no power.—After a long examination, he was committed to prison, as a blasphemer, heretic, and seducer.—Here he lay till the Assizes, when it appears to have been intended to take away his life, the High Sheriff saying that he would guard him to the place of execution himself; but whilst he, with

the Judge and Justices, were contriving how to accomplish their evil design, the Judge's Clerk started a question, which confounded their Counsels. Finding they could not succeed in this object, they concluded not to bring him to trial, notwithstanding a strong remonstrance from Anthony Pearson. Being now left to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the Magistrates, they removed him into the prison which was occupied by felons. It was a very filthy place, men and women being put promiscuously into it. One woman was almost eaten to death with vermin. The prisoners, however, were very loving, and even subject to their new companion, and "some of them," he says, "were convinced of the truth, as the publicans and harlots were of old." The gaoler and under-gaoler, however, treated him with great cruelty, and even beat him very severely; nor would they suffer his friends to visit him, without extending their abuse to them; and they were often denied access to him.

When he found that he was not likely to be brought to public trial, he published a paper, inviting those who had any thing to lay to his charge, to give their accusations in writing, that they might be fairly answered. This paper he directed to be put upon all the market crosses in Westmoreland and Cumberland. He also wrote to the Magistrates who committed him; and Anthony Pearson, who had before very forcibly

remonstrated with the Justices, on their conduct, wrote, jointly with Gervas Benson, to the Magistrates, Priests, and people of that place, reproving them for their illegal and cruel conduct to their friend. Soon after this, the Magistrates concluded to set him at liberty, but before his liberation, the Governor (of the Castle, I suppose) introduced Anthony Pearson to the prison, and they examined this miserable place of confinement, which was found so filthy, that the Magistrates were exceedingly censured. The gaolers were obliged to find sureties for their good behaviour, and the undergaoler was committed to the same prison. It was during George Fox's confinement here, that James Parnell, a youth about 16 years of age, visited him; and being convinced, joined him in religious fellowship.

After his liberation from Carlisle, he returned to Thomas Bewlay's, at Coldbeck, where a Baptist teacher came to dispute with him. The Baptist, however, was convinced, and having an impropriation of tithes, he gave it up freely; and several others followed his example. About this time, Friends were exceedingly abused in these parts, and underwent great sufferings various ways, their lives being often in danger; "but (says George Fox) the Lord's power sustained them; the everlasting gospel and word of life flourished, and thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his teaching."

Leaving Cumberland, he came to Strickland-head, in Westmoreland, where he had a large meeting. The Priests and Magistrates in these parts were violently disposed, and obtained a warrant to apprehend him; but they were not permitted to execute it. Visiting the meetings of his Friends on the way, he came again to Swarthmore. Some Baptists in Scotland had sent to offer to dispute with him, and he appointed to meet them at Thomas Bewlay's, in Cumberland; but when he came there, none of them met him. He received much personal abuse, in this journey, but sustained no material injury. He next visited part of the County of Durham, and passed into Northumberland. At Derwent-Water, he had several great meetings: "The everlasting word of life was freely preached, and freely received; hundreds being turned to Christ their teacher."

Coming to Hexham, he had a large meeting on the top of a hill, in the neighbourhood, at which he met with no interruption. After this meeting, he passed through the town, and came into Gilsland, a country then noted for thieves, some Friends being with him. Here a priest came to them at an inn, and said he would prove them deceivers, out of the Bible, but he failed of his design. In the course of their conversation, George asked him what he called the Steeple-

house. "Oh, (said he) the dreadful house of God, the temple of God." This shows the very superstitious reverence which was then entertained for these places, and accounts for that zeal with which George Fox opposed it, and endeavoured to convince the people of their erroneous opinions respecting them.

He now came again into Cumberland, and had a meeting on the top of a hill, near Langlands, at which several thousands of people were supposed to be present. It was a heavenly meeting. The minds of the people were so effectually turned to Christ, their teacher, that when Francis Howgill visited them afterwards, he found that they had no need of words, and he sat amongst them, without having any thing to communicate. Many predictions were about this time given forth by their enemies, of the speedy downfal of this new society, and its members met with great reproach and suffering, on account of their peculiar conduct. Many, for a time, refused to deal with them in the way of trade; but their uprightness and integrity soon raised them so much in the good opinion of the people, that they had in general more business than their neighbours, which frequently excited much envy towards them. There were now great numbers convinced in the Northern counties; and many mouths were opened to bear testimony to

the truth, and to publish it in various parts of the nation. This brought an exercise upon George Fox; and he wrote an epistle to his Friends, "stirring up the pure mind, and raising a holy care and watchfulness over themselves and one another."

Whilst he was in the North, Morgan Floyd, a priest of Wrexham, in North Wales, sent two of his congregation to inquire concerning Friends, and to try them, as he called it; but these triers being both convinced, did not hastily return to their master, continuing awhile with Friends hereaway. One of them, John ap John, continued a steady Friend, and became a minister, in which capacity he afterwards accompanied George Fox in Wales.

It does not appear when George first promulgated his testimony against oaths, but it is a doctrine that had now made some progress; for when, during Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, an oath of allegiance or obedience to him, was tendered to the army, many of them refused to take it, in compliance with the command of Christ: "Swear not at all." It seems that these soldiers had been already convinced by George Fox's ministry, or that of his Friends, but had not yet left the army. This however was the means of entirely separating

them from it, and bringing them into nearer fellowship with Friends. Some proved unfaithful, and remaining in the army, several of them were shot by their fellow-soldiers, who mistook them for enemies.

From this and other circumstances, it appears, that several of our early Friends were convinced while in the army; and that they did not immediately relinquish this mode of life; but as the peaceable principles, promulgated by George Fox and his Friends, prevailed, the inconsistency of war with the Gospel dispensation, became increasingly manifest; and this new society considered itself called upon to bear testimony to the coming of that day, foretold by the prophets, in which "Nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

CHAP. VI.

1654.—Returns into Yorkshire. Large meeting at Synderhill Green. Goes into Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Visits his relations in Leicestershire, and travels to London. Visits Bedfordshire. Returns to London, goes to Kent, Sussex, and Berks. Again visits London and several Eastern and Midland Counties—and writes an Epistle to Friends in Ireland.

THE Churches in the North being established, and Friends gathered under the teaching of Christ, George Fox was engaged to travel into the Southern parts of Yorkshire, and passing through Halifax, a rude town, he came to Thomas Taylor's, who had been a Captain in the army, and proceeded to Synderhill Green, where a meeting was appointed for him, about three weeks before he came there. The meeting proved very large, and it was supposed some thousands were present, many of whom were persons of note, or officers in the army. "There was a general convincement; for the Lord's power and truth were set over all, and there was no opposition." This was in the beginning of the year 1654.

There were now about sixty ministers raised up in the Northern counties, as fellow labourers with George Fox, and travelling in different parts of the nation. For these he felt much solici-

tude, that they might be kept humble and watchful; and he wrote an epistle to them, containing much instruction and advice, which, in their state of infancy and inexperience, might be very profitable to them.

After he left the country about Synderhill Green, he travelled in various parts of Yorkshire, as far as the extremity of Holderness, visiting Friends who had been gathered by his ministry, when there before; and he found them in a situation which proved comfortable to him. He afterwards came to Captain Bradford's, whose place of residence he does not describe, but it may be supposed to be not far from York, as many Ranters came from that city to dispute with him, who, he says, were confounded. A Lady Montague also came to Captain Bradford's, and was convinced, and lived and died in the truth.

In the course of his travels, he came again to Thomas Taylor's, near Halifax. Some rude persons, who, it was said, had bound themselves by an oath, to kill him, came to a meeting there, at which about two hundred persons were present; but, notwithstanding the wicked design of these men, and their great rudeness during the meeting, they were all, at length, brought into quietness; and the meeting proved very satisfactory. "The Lord," says

George, speaking of this time, "hath raised a fine people in these parts, whom he hath drawn to Christ, and gathered in his name."

From the neighbourhood of Halifax, he went to Balby, whence several Friends accompanied him into Lincolnshire. To one meeting the Sheriff of Lincoln came, and several persons with him, who for a time caused some disturbance; but the power of truth came so over them, that several of the opposers were convinced, among whom was the Sheriff. At another meeting Sir Richard Wray, with his brother and brother's wife, were also convinced, as were many others in these parts. From Lincolnshire, he went into Derbyshire, accompanied by the Sheriff of Lincoln. They had also a large meeting at Skegby, in Nottinghamshire, where it appears a considerable convincement took place. Afterwards he went into the Peak of Derbyshire, where he met with many Ranters, and had much disputing with them; but "the Lord's power," he says, "went over them; the word of life was fully and richly preached, and many were convinced." This meeting was at the house of Thomas Hammersley, who, being summoned on a Jury, was admitted to serve without an oath. He was made Foreman, and when he brought in the verdict, the Judge said, "I have been a Judge many years, but never heard a

more upright verdict than that Quaker has brought in." Other circumstances of this kind occurred, which it is not thought necessary to notice.

Travelling through Derbyshire, he visited Friends, till he came to Swanington, in Leicestershire, where was a general meeting, which several Friends in the ministry attended, as John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Pyott, and Edward Burrough. Several persons were convinced in these parts; but some Ranters made a disturbance; yet they were brought into quietness, the Lord's power coming over them. Here, and at Twycross, many were convinced, amongst whom were several of the Ranters.

After an absence of three years, George Fox returned to the place of his nativity, to visit his relations. Here his old acquaintance, Nathaniel Stephens, the priest, soon sent for him. George was not aware of the cause, but afterwards found that he had given notice to the country of a meeting, and obtained another priest to join him in a public dispute. At the conclusion of it, George informed the people, that he intended to be there again that day week. In the interval, he went into the neighbouring parts, and had several meetings. The priest, it seems, took the information for a challenge to another dispute, which was not in-

tended, and he collected seven other priests to assist him, giving public notice of the meeting, by which many hundreds were collected. The priests would not keep to any point; and the dispute seems not to have been productive of much benefit. At a meeting in the same place, a week after this, it does not appear that much impression was made on the people of his native town, though a few were convinced at this last meeting.

After he left Drayton, he came to Leicester and Whetston. At the latter place, he was arrested by some soldiers of Colonel Hacker's regiment. In the evening, he was brought before the Colonel and his officers, and underwent many interrogatories. George, being required to stay at home, and not go abroad to meetings, could not agree to the Colonel's order, in consequence of which the Colonel concluded to send him to the Protector, in London, against whose life it appears some plots were supposed at this time to be laid. George asserted his innocence, and, nothing connected with any plot being laid to his charge, remonstrated strongly against the Colonel's conduct, but in vain. The last remonstrance was whilst the Colonel was in bed, when George, not succeeding, kneeled by the bed side, and "besought the Lord to forgive him," telling him also "when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, to re-

member what he had said to him." The Colonel was afterwards imprisoned in London, and executed as a regicide; and being reminded of his former conduct to George Fox, he acknowledged that he had trouble upon him for it.

Captain Drury was charged with the care of George, and took him to London. On the way, he frequently preached to the people, at the inns and places where he went; and he visited Wm. Dewsbury and Marmaduke Storr, who were in prison at Northampton. When he and his guard came to London, George was taken to an inn, the Mermaid, near Charing-Cross; and Captain Drury went to inform the Protector of their arrival, and to give an account of his prisoner. The Protector appears to have been very moderate, and only required that George Fox should engage not to take up a sword or weapon against him, or the Government, as it was then constituted. George felt no difficulty in complying with this requisition, and the next morning wrote to the Protector, in which he avowed his principle against the use of any outward weapons, to the injury of him or any other man. This satisfied the Protector, who afterwards sent for him to Whitehall, and they had much friendly conversation together, George admonishing the Protector with his usual freedom. After they parted, he was invited by the Protector's order, to dine with his gentlemen, but he refused

the invitation; which, with other circumstances, induced the Protector to say, "Now I see there is a people risen, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can." To this it was replied, "that Friends had forsaken their own, and were not likely to look for such things from him."

Whilst George Fox was prisoner at Charing-Cross, many persons of various descriptions, came to see him, amongst whom he had some service; and being now liberated, he went into the city of London, where he held many meetings, which were very largely attended; and the truth spread exceedingly. He also went again to Whitehall, and preached to the officers, and to those who were called Oliver's gentlemen, who, it seems, were his body guard. George says that he "was moved to declare the day of the Lord amongst them, and that the Lord was come to teach his people himself." Some of the Protector's household, and of his own family, were convinced. Whilst George was in London and its neighbourhood, he wrote several addresses to people in different situations, one of which was to the Protector, "to warn him of the mighty work the Lord hath to do in the nations; and to beware of his own wit, craft, subtlety, and policy, and not to seek any by-ends to himself."

Leaving London, he went to John Crook's, in Bedfordshire, where he had a large meeting, at which the people were generally convinced. John Crook was a Justice of Peace, and whilst George Fox was at his house, several country gentlemen came to dine with the Justice; and George being one of the company, embraced the opportunity of declaring the truth to them. He held several meetings in Bedfordshire, where some other Friends were also engaged in Gospel labour. A great convincement took place, at which the Magistrates and others were much alarmed, "because so many were turned from the hireling priests to the Lord Jesus Christ's free teaching."

From Bedfordshire, he returned to London, where he found his Friends established in the truth, and a considerable accession to their numbers. He passed soon into Kent, and came by Rochester to Cranbrook, where he had a large meeting. Several soldiers were present, some of whom behaved rudely after the meeting; but many were turned to the Lord that day, among whom was Thomas Howsigoe, an Independent preacher. Capt. Dunk was also convinced in Kent, and went with George Fox to Rye, where they had a meeting, to which the Mayor, and several others of note, came. The meeting was quiet, and the people's minds well affected with what they heard.

From Rye, he went to Rumney, where he met with Samuel Fisher, who had already been convinced, John Stubbs and William Caton having before visited these parts. Previous notice having been given, the meeting at Rumney was very large; and a great convincement took place. At and near Dover, many also were convinced, amongst whom were a Governor and his wife, who had been Baptists, of whom it appears there were great numbers in these parts. At Dover, he found Luke Howard already convinced. At Canterbury, he met with a few honest-hearted people, who were turned to the Lord. From this place, he came again to Cranbrook, where he had another great meeting.

From Kent, he came into Sussex, and had meetings at and near Horsham and Steyning, and many in these parts were convinced. "The hearts of the people were opened, and they were turned to Christ Jesus their shepherd, who had purchased them without money, and would feed them without price."

Leaving Sussex, he came to Reading, in Berks, and on First Day had a meeting in an orchard, to which a great part of the inhabitants of the town came, and were well satisfied, many of them being convinced. Here two of Judge Fell's daughters (probably from London) came to see him; also

George Bishop, of Bristol, who was a Captain in the army, and at this time wore his sword, but afterwards he became an honourable member of the new society.

George Fox now came again to London, where he had some large meetings. Leaving the city, he travelled into Essex, and at Coggeshall had a meeting, at which it was supposed about two thousand people were present. "The word of life was freely declared, and the people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and saviour." After this, he had some meetings near Colchester, and when in that place, visited James Parnel, who was in prison there. Of the people in these parts George speaks in this manner, "A great flock of sheep hath the Lord in that country, who feed in his pastures of life."

He next came to Ipswich, where he had a small meeting and rude treatment. At Mendlesham he had a large meeting, which he says "was quiet, and the Lord's power was preciously felt." Passing into Norfolk, he came to Captain Lawrence's, where he had a large and quiet meeting; about one thousand persons being supposed to be present, of whom many were convinced. He afterwards came to Norwich and Yarmouth, having some service in these places. From Yarmouth he went to several other places in the county, frequently preaching to the people on horseback. At one place he and his companion ordered their horses to be ready at three in the morning, intending for Lynn, about thirty-three miles distant; but in the night they were inquired after, and arrested by some constables with a hue and cry, on account of a house which, it was said, had been broken into. The next morning they took George and his companion, Richard Hubberthorn, before a Justice, who manifested an unkind disposition towards them; but they being able to prove an alibi, he was obliged to set them at liberty. It appears that the whole was a pretence of some envious persons, who wished to bring George into confinement and suffering. A great meeting was afterwards gathered in that town, from which the hue and cry came.

Being set at liberty, they came to Lynn in the afternoon of that day, and in the evening obtained a meeting with the inhabitants and some soldiers who were in garrison there. "Many (to use his own words) were convinced, and a fine meeting there is of them that are come off from the hirelings' teaching, and sit under the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ." Leaving Lynn early next morning, they came to Sutton, near the Isle of Ely, where they met with some other Friends, and had a large meeting, to which many people came, some from a considerable distance; also four

Priests, one of whom was convinced, and some hundreds of the people, the Word of Life being freely declared and gladly received. That evening they passed to Cambridge, and met with great rudeness from the scholars, both in the streets and at the inn. Such was the violence exercised by these candidates for the ministry, and other professions, that when George and his companions were inquired at the inn what they would have for supper, he replied, " Supper! were it not that the Lord's power is over them, these rude scholars look as if they would pluck us in pieces, and make a supper of us." The Mayor of the town was, however, very differently disposed from the Students, and fetched George Fox to his own house. Here they had a good meeting with some well-disposed people, that day or evening; and early next morning left the place, to the disappointment of some who had entertained evil designs respecting them, and supposed they would continue longer there.

From Cambridge they came to Bishop-Stortford and Hertford, at both which places some convincement took place. Returning to London, they were gladly received by their friends. Here George, accompanied by Richard Hubberthorn, continued some time visiting Friends, and replying to gainsayers, sometimes by public disputation, and at others, by writing. Whilst in London, he also wrote an affectionate Epistle to his Friends,

to encourage them under the sufferings and exercises which then fell to their lot; persecution being very prevalent in many parts of the nation.

Feeling his mind at liberty to leave London, he travelled into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. At Wellingborough he had a large meeting, and many in those parts were turned to the Lord. Such was the influence of the ministry of George Fox and his friends, that the Presbyterians and Independents hereaway, falsely reported that they carried bottles with them, out of which they gave the people drink, and thus induced them to become their followers. These high professors became also great persecutors of Friends on account of their not paying tithes; though tithes were among the evils of which they had complained in the former Government.

From Wellingborough George Fox went again into Leicestershire. Colonel Hacker had threatened, that if he came there he would imprison him again, though the Protector had given him his liberty; but when he came to Whetston, where he had been before taken prisoner, he met with no interruption. On the contrary, the Colonel's wife and his Marshal, came to a meeting there, and were both convinced, as were also two Justices of the Peace from Wales, Peter Price and Walter Jenkins, who afterwards

became Ministers of Christ. At Wm. Smith's, at Sileby, George had another meeting, which was largely attended, many Baptists coming to it, and one of their teachers being convinced.

He now came again to Drayton, his native town. The Priests, who had before been very violent against him, were quiet; many of them being engaged in endeavouring to obtain a benefice at Nuneaton, which was then vacant by the death of the incumbent. He had next a meeting at Badgley; great numbers came to it, some from a considerable distance, and many were convinced. This was also the case in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, in which counties he had large meetings, and where, he observes, "many were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God."

He next came into Warwickshire, and had a meeting at Birmingham, where many persons were convinced. Afterwards he came to Evesham, in Worcestershire, where the Magistrates had cast several Friends into prison; and hearing of George Fox's coming, had made a pair of high stocks. He went, however, to Evesham with his usual courage, and in the evening had a large, precious meeting with Friends and others, who were refreshed together with the Word of Life. In the morning he went on horseback to the prisons, and visited his friends there. After which, as he was leaving the town,

he observed the Magistrates coming to arrest him, but they were too late. The spirit of persecution was now very violent in these parts.

Coming to Worcester, he had a satisfactory meeting there. At Tewkesbury, the Priest, with a rude rabble, attended the meeting, and caused some disturbance. Travelling to Warwick, he had a good meeting at the house of a widow, at which many were convinced; but the Bailiff manifested a persecuting spirit, which induced George Fox to go to his house, and remonstrate with him. The people were rude, but George and his companions, (for several Friends were now with him,) did not suffer any material injury. After leaving Warwick, he was engaged to return to it, and declare the Word of Life to them; and being struck at, he showed them their unworthiness of the name of Christians. Some, however, both here and at Tewkesbury, were turned to the Lord.

Being now clear of Warwick, he went to Coventry, where he found the people in a dark state. Going to a person's house, where he had been when there before, he found him drunk. This so affected George's mind, that he did not go into any house in the town, but rode through some of the streets and the market-place, and, says he, "I felt the power of the Lord over the town." He

next came to Dun-Cow,* where he had a meeting, and many were turned to the Lord by his Spirit. Here he met with John Camm, whom he styles "a faithful Minister of the everlasting Gospel." At this place they were treated with much rudeness in the evening, some of the people riding on horseback into the room in which the Friends sat, but they were not much injured. "The Lord," he says, "gave us dominion over them."

Passing through Leicestershire, he came to Badgley in Warwickshire, where Wm. Edmundson met him, by whom he wrote an Epistle to Friends in the North of Ireland, which not being long, it may be proper to insert, as a specimen of his short, pithy, mode of expression. When read among those to whom it was addressed, we are told that it had very reaching effect upon them.

"FRIENDS,

"In that which convinced you wait, that you may have that removed you are convinced of. And all my dear Friends dwell in the life, love, power, and wisdom of God, in unity one with another, and with God; and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may rule in you, but the life which stands in the Lord God.

G. F."

* This is supposed to be the sign of the Dun-Cow.

CHAP. VII.

1655 to 1656.—Travels through the Counties of Northampton, Bedford, and Herts, to London. Leaves London for Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. Is imprisoned at Launceston about six months, where he is very cruelly treated.

AFTER writing the Epistle to Ireland, George Fox travelled by Swanington and Higham, into Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire. At Baldock he met with some Baptists, and visited a sick woman of that profession, who with her husband was convinced, and meetings were held in their house. At the inn, two men were fighting very furiously, and no one durst attempt to part them; but George, with his wonted intrepidity, stepped between them, and holding one of them by one hand, and the other by his other hand, he admonished and reconciled them, and they behaved so well to him, that the people were in admiration.

He and his companions now passed by Market-Street and Albans, to London, where their Friends were comforted by their accounts of the prosperity of truth, and their deliverance from many dangers. At London he stayed some time, visiting the meetings of his Friends. When he left the city, James

Naylor was there, concerning whom, at parting, George felt some fear, which he afterwards found not to be groundless. He now travelled, having Edward Pyott for a companion, into Surrey and Sussex. Not far from Ryegate, he visited Thomas Moore, a Justice of the Peace, who was convinced, and became a serviceable man in the society. Passing through Godalmin, Horsham, and Arundel, he came to Chichester. Here some people attended the meeting, who were disposed to dispute and make a disturbance. The woman of the house where the meeting was held, was convinced; but having an offer of marriage from one not a Friend, George Fox endeavoured to dissuade her from it, but in vain. After her marriage, she found her husband greatly in debt, and became deranged in mind; from which however she recovered, and her husband dying, she became sensible of her fault in slighting the advice which George Fox had given her.

Leaving Chichester, they went to Portsmouth, where, after an examination by the Governor, he was set at liberty, and came to Ringwood. Here, and at Pool and Southampton, several were convinced and turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and Saviour. Among this number, at Pool, was William Bailey, a preacher among the Baptists, who afterwards became an eminent minister among Friends. At Dorchester, George had a meeting and dispute with some Baptists; which terminated in the convincement of many who were present. Coming to Weymouth, they had a meeting with about eighty sober people, most of whom were convinced, receiving the truth in the love of it, with gladness of heart. When George and his companion left Weymouth, a Captain of horse accompanied them about seven miles. George says, "This Captain was the fattest, merriest, cheerfullest man, and most given to laughter," that he ever met with. This produced several reproofs from him, the last of which appears to have reached the Captain's heart; and he told George, the next time they met, that when he spoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord so struck him, that before he got home, he was serious enough; and had left off his laughing. He was afterwards convinced, and became a serious good man, and died in the truth.

Parting with the Captain, George Fox and his companion came to Honiton, in Devonshire, and after having some dispute with a number of particular Baptists, they proceeded to Topsham, where they met with much rudeness among the people; yet some were convinced, and a Meeting was afterward settled in this town. From Topsham, they proceeded to Totness, which he calls

"a dark town." Whilst here, his companion was much indisposed; but soon recovering, they proceeded to Kingsbridge, where several people were convinced. Coming to Plymouth, they had a very precious meeting at Robert Cary's. Elizabeth Trelawney, the daughter of a Baronet, attendedand was convinced, with several others, and a Meeting was settled there in the Lord's power.

Leaving Devonshire, they passed into Cornwall, and came to an inn in the parish of Menhenniott, near which a meeting was held that night, at the house of Robert Hancock. This meeting appears to have been the means of extending the principles of Friends, and gathering many into the acknowledgment of them. Passing through Penryn and Helston, they came to Market Jew, where the Magistrates sent constables for them. The constables having no warrant, they refused to attend them, but after some other messages, Edward Pyott went, and had some discourse with the Magistrates, who gave them no further molestation. At this place George wrote a paper, containing some Christian instruction and advice, which was to be spread in the seven parishes at the Land's End. One of these papers was given, as they were travelling betwixt Market Jew and Ives, to a servant of Peter Ceely, a Justice of Peace and a Major in the army. The servant gave the paper to his

master, and when George and his companions came to Ives, they were taken before the Major. George having walked to the sea shore, was not present when his companions were taken; but when he knew where they were, he followed them of his own accord. After some conversation, and tendering the oath of abjuration, Ceely committed them to a party of soldiers, to take them either to Pendennis Castle, or to Launceston Gaol. On the way, at Redruth, they had some religious service, also at Smethick, the same as is now called Falmouth. Here Captain Keat, who commanded the guard, conducted himself so rudely and improperly, by permitting a relation of his to insult and even strike George Fox, that he sent for the constables, and asked the Captain for his warrant. On his showing it, George observed that he had broken his order, and desired one of the constables to keep the warrant, which he did, and refused to return it, till they had shown it to the Officers at the Castle, who expressed great disapprobation of Captain Keat's conduct. The Captain and his guard were now so humbled, that they promised to be more civil, if the prisoners would go with them, and they might have their order again, with which the constables at length complied.

Captain Fox, Governor of Pendennis Castle, not being there, the prisoners were taken by Bodmin to Launceston; but on the road, Keat and his

party of soldiers manifested much malice towards them, at least to George Fox, whose life the Captain seemed desirous of being taken; but his evil designs were frustrated. When they came to Launceston, the Captain delivered his prisoners to the gaoler. They had no Friends here to assist them, and the gaoler was very exorbitant in his demands for their support, and that of their horses; but after some time, they were visited by a few of the inhabitants of the town and the neighbouring country, several of whom were convinced; which caused great anger among the priests and many other high professors. Thus we see how persecution often defeats its own object, and by an over-ruling Providence, is made the means of spreading those principles, which it is intended to suppress: Indeed, one of the Protector's Chaplains, when he heard of George Fox's confinement at Launceston, told Oliver, that they could not do George Fox a greater service, for the spreading of his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there.

Now commenced a long imprisonment, marked with much injustice and cruelty, but borne with that firmness and patience, which are the peculiar characteristics of George Fox. Besides Edward Pyott of Bristol, William Salt was at this time in company with George; and all three were committed to prison. About nine weeks after their

commitment, the Assizes commenced, and Judge Glyn, who was Chief Justice, came the circuit. When the prisoners were brought into court, George saluted it with "Peace be amongst you." The Friends keeping their hats on, consistently with their principles, the Judge ordered them to take them off, with which they not complying, the Judge, after some debate, remanded them to prison, between which place and the court, they were repeatedly taken backward and forward. Gorge Fox having queried where any Magistrate, either Jew or Heathen, from Moses to Daniel, required the hat to be put off before him, the Judge not being ready with a reply at the time, afterwards sent for George and his companions from prison, and asked them, "Where had they hats from Moses to Daniel? Come answer me, I have you fast now." To this George replied, "Thou mayest read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace with their coats, their hose, and their hats on." The Judge finding he could not prevail with argument, had recourse to the usual cry, "Take them away, Gaoler."

Whilst George was in court, he was much affected with observing the frequent use of oaths, which induced him to give a paper against swearing, that he had with him, to the Jury. This being shown to the Judge, he asked George whether that seditious paper was his, who desired it

to be read, that he might know whether it was his or not, and that those who heard it might judge whether it contained any thing seditious. The Judge showed much reluctance to the paper being read; but the matter was so pressed upon him, that he at length permitted it; and George Fox publickly owned it to be his, and showed its consistency with the doctrine of Christ and the Apostle James.

Major Ceely, who was in court, manifested much malice on this occasion, bringing false accusations against George Fox, which he could not substantiate, and of the falsehood of which the Judge and Court seemed sensible. One of the accusations was, that George Fox told him (Ceely) that he could raise forty thousand men at an hour's warning, and requesting Ceely's assistance. This George disproved, by obtaining, with much difficulty, his mittimus to be read, and by his comments upon it. The other charge of Major Ceely was, that George Fox had struck him in the presence of Captain Bradden. The Captain was in court, and George Fox called upon him to give evidence if he saw any such thing, but he would not come forward to support the charge. At night he came to see George and his companions, and told him that neither the Judge, nor any of the Court, gave credit to Major Ceely's charges. It seems George Fox had reproved the Major for

his hypocrisy,* which he chose to represent in a different manner, as if he had struck him with his hands.

It is lamentable to observe how weakly justice was administered at this time. George Fox and his companions were brought to no regular trial, but being remanded to prison, they were detained there till the following Assizes. Many persons of repute came to visit them in prison, of whom Humphrey Lower, who had been a Justice of the Peace, was convinced; and the prejudices of some others, who had been of an opposing spirit, were much removed.

Being now likely to continue long in confinement, the prisoners thought proper to send their horses into the country, and also to withdraw the allowance of 7 s. per week each for themselves. This greatly irritated the jailer, who appears to have been a very wicked man. He put the prisoners into a filthy place, called Doomsdale, where they were most inhumanly treated by the two jailers, both of whom had been burnt in the hand and shoulder for their crimes.* Whilst in this dismal

* George Fox's description of this place, is more suitable for a note than for the body of the work. He says it was "a nasty stinking place, where they used to put murderers after they were condemned. The place was so noisome, that,

place, the prisoners were told that it was haunted by evil spirits, which, however, excited no uneasiness in their minds; on the contrary, George Fox told those who had endeavoured to alarm them with this report, that "if all the spirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them in the power of God, and feared no such thing." This is similar to an answer of Martin Luther to some of his friends, who discouraged him from going to a place where it was thought his enemies would make him prisoner: "If I knew," says he, "there were as many devils at Worms, as there are tiles on the houses, I would go." Indeed, there appears to have been a considerable similarity of character between these two Reformers.

The time of the Quarter Sessions approaching, George Fox and his companions laid their case before the Justices at Bodmin, who gave such

it was observed, few who went in did ever come out again in health. There was no house of office in it, and the excrements of the prisoners had not been carried out, as we were told, for many years, so that it was all like mire, and in some places to the top of the shoes in water and urine; and the jailer would not let us cleanse it, or have any straw to lie on." In addition, the jailer poured the excrements of the felons, who lay over this place, upon George Fox and his companions, because they burnt some straw to correct the offensive smell, by the smoke of which the jailer was annoyed.

orders, as considerably improved their situation. The prisoners also represented their case to the Protector, in consequence of which, Captain Keat and his kinsman, who struck George at Falmouth, were censured, and the Captain's relation was told, that George might take the advantage of the law, and recover damages of him; but this, as usual, was declined. A considerable check was, by this means, put to the persecuting spirit which had been manifested; and Friends were not molested for preaching in markets, or places of worship. Great darkness as to religion, prevailed in these parts at this time; but through the sufferings and labours of George Fox and his Friends, "the Lord's light and truth broke forth, and many were turned from darkness to light, and from Satan's power to God."

During his confinement here, various circumstances occurred, which afforded occasion for the exercise of that courage and presence of mind, which were remarkably conspicuous in the character of George Fox. At one time, whilst one of his fellow-prisoners was admonishing a soldier, George observed the soldier beginning to draw his sword; upon which he stepped up to him, and represented what a shame it was for a soldier to attempt to draw his sword, upon a naked man and a prisoner, telling him how unfit he was

to wear such a weapon, and that some men would have taken his sword from him, and broken it in pieces. The soldier, meeting with this seasonable reproof, was so ashamed, that he immediately withdrew, without doing any injury. At another time, the jailer endeavoured to introduce George to a man who was committed to the prison for being a conjuror. The jailer's view, it seems, was for the conjuror to do an injury to George Fox; but he, aware of the jailer's evil disposition, detected the man twice with a naked knife in his hand, no doubt with a bad design. George reproved the conjuror so severely, that he was afterwards afraid to come near him.

Whilst the prisoners were confined at Launceston, Edward Pyott, who seems to have been well acquainted with the law, represented their case at length to the Chief Justice Glyn, in which he manifested not only the injustice, but the illegality of their confinement, and particularly of the Judge's conduct, when they were brought before him at the Assizes. This does not however appear to have procured them any relief; but the Lord, who knew the integrity of their hearts, and the innocency of their cause, was with them, and supported them in their sufferings, which were thus made easy to them, and opportunities were afforded to publish his name and truth among the

people. Several of the townspeople were convinced, many became loving to them, and Friends and others from distant parts came to visit them. Among these was the wife of Judge Hagget, of Bristol, who was convinced with several of her children. Her husband also became very kind and serviceable to Friends, which disposition he continued till his death.

The Mayor of Launceston being much disposed to take up and imprison Friends, and frequently to examine their pockets, &c. for any thing he might find to criminate them, George made use of this circumstance to convey to the Mayor an account of his inhuman and unchristian conduct. He drew up the account in writing, and gave it to a young man, whom he directed to go a back way out of the town, and return through the gates, where it seems the Mayor had placed watchmen, to examine those who were suspected to be Quakers. The young man was carried before the Mayor, who searched his pockets, and found the letter; which, when he had read it, made him so ashamed of his conduct, that he seldom afterwards meddled with Friends.

Although George Fox and his companions were continued in prison till a second Assizes, yet they were not called before the Judges any more;

they had, however, considerable service in promoting the cause for which they suffered, during the Assizes. Among others, Thomas Lower, who afterwards married a daughter of Judge Fell, visited them, offering them money, which they refused. George Fox was concerned to speak particularly to him, and he afterwards said, that George's words were as a flash of lightning, they ran so through him; with more to the same purpose. He was not only himself convinced, but returning home among his relations, and informing them what he had met with, his aunt and her sister went to visit the prisoners, and were also convinced by them.

Whilst George Fox was in prison at Launceston, a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself, body for body, in his stead. The Protector was struck with this disinterested act of friendship, and said to those about him, "Which of you would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?" He did not, however, think that he could legally accept the Friend's offer; but some time after, he sent Major General Desborow to Cornwall, with an intention or pretence to set them at liberty; but the Major requiring such conditions as they could not comply with, they did not at this time obtain their liberty; but General Desborow left the business in the hands of

Colonel Bennett, who at length released them, on the 13th of 7th month, 1656, having been prisoners above six months. One of the jailers who had treated them with much cruelty, was not only turned out of his place the next year, but also committed to the same filthy jail, where he was locked in irons, beaten, and bid to remember his former wicked conduct to the Quakers; of whom he had now to beg relief. He died in prison, and his family came to great distress.

CHAP. VIII.

1656—Being released, he visits other Places in Cornwall—Passes through Launceston into Devon—At Exeter finds James Naylor in Prison, in a darkened State of Mind—Admonishes him and his Companions—Comes to Bristol, and has two large Meetings—Travels to London, and visits Oliver Cromwell—Travels into the North as far as Yorkshire, and returns to London.

AFTER George Fox and his friends were liberated from this imprisonment, they took horses and went to the house of Humphrey Lower, and afterwards to Loveday Hambley's. At both these places they had large meetings, at which many were convinced and "turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher." After this a general meeting for the whole county was held at Thomas Mounce's, which, being too large for any of the buildings, was held in the orchard. Friends from other counties attended the meeting. Here, and in several other parts of Cornwall, there were many added to the society; and all opposition and persecution seemed for awhile to be removed.

In passing out of Cornwall into Devon, George Fox and his companions went through Launceston, where they visited a few of their friends who had been raised up there during their confinement. Here the constable followed them with a cheese which he had taken from Edward Pyott, and kept

all that time without using it; but the cheese not being wanted by the Friends, they declined accepting it. At Okington, or Oakhampton, they lodged at an inn, kept by the Mayor of the town, who had formerly taken up several Friends, but was now very civil to them. These circumstances show the different dispositions which now seemed to prevail, even among their persecutors; and how, by their faithful and patient suffering, the opposing spirit was not only restrained, but in many instances mollified and changed.

A fresh source of trial now awaited George Fox, from the improper conduct of one of his own Friends. It was about this time that James Naylor was led into many extravagancies of imagination and self-exaltation. George Fox met with him at Exeter, and soon saw the darkened state of his mind, and of those who accompanied him; he therefore reproved and admonished them; but at that time his admonitions were slighted; yet afterwards, when James Naylor saw into the error of his conduct, his resisting the advice of George Fox became the cause of great uneasiness to him. Indeed he afterwards clearly saw how exceedingly he had missed his way, and his feeling acknowledgments of it, place his disposition and character in an amiable point of view.

It does not appear that any meeting was held at Exeter, except in the prison, where James Naylor

was confined, at which a corporal was convinced, who, to use George Fox's own words, " remained a very good Friend." He had several other meetings hereaway, as at Collumpton, Taunton, Puddimore, and at John Dander's. There was a great convincement in these parts, and " many," he observes, " were turned by the power and Spirit of God to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them; and they came to sit under his free teaching."

George Fox now came to the house of his fellow-labourer and fellow-prisoner, Edward Pyott, near Bristol. The report of his coming there soon spread through the city, where, the next day, being the first of the week, he had two large meetings. At the latter, which was held in an orchard, Paul Gwin, a Baptist, attempted to stir up the people to rudeness, and addressed them in this manner: " Ye wise men of Bristol, I strange at you that you will stand here, and hear a man speak and affirm that which he cannot make good." George Fox had not yet spoken at all, but was standing silent with his hat off on a stone, on which Friends used to stand when they spoke. This gave George an opportunity of exposing the man's character; after which he preached to the people for several hours; and at the conclusion of the meeting, " was moved to pray in the mighty power of God, and the Lord's power came over

all; a blessed day it was, and the Lord had the praise."

Leaving Bristol, he, with Edward Pyott and another Friend, travelled towards London, having a large meeting at Slattenford, (Slaughterford, I suppose,) and another at the house of Nathaniel Crips, who had been a Justice of the Peace in Wiltshire; at which it was supposed between two and three thousand people were present. From this meeting he says " the people went away generally satisfied, and were glad that they were turned to Christ Jesus, their teacher and saviour." They had also meetings at Marlborough, Newbury, Reading, and Kingston-upon-Thames, all of which, it appears, were quiet and uninterrupted; and several persons were convinced. When at Marlborough, it was the time of the Sessions, and some of the Justices were preparing to issue a warrant to apprehend George Fox; but a Justice Stooks prevented it, telling them that he had held a meeting at his house the day before, at which several thousands were present. This would, no doubt, be accompanied with the representation of some favourable circumstances which satisfied the other Justices.

As George Fox came to London, he met Oliver Cromwell riding in his coach in Hyde-Park, and

being desirous of speaking to him, rode to the side of the coach, which some of the life guards endeavouring to prevent, the Protector desired them to permit him. He then rode by the side of the coach, and spoke to the Protector respecting his spiritual state; George also represented the sufferings of Friends in divers parts of the nation; showing the inconsistency of persecution with the spirit of christianity. When they parted, the Protector desired him to come to his house; and when he returned to Whitehall, informed one of his wife's attendants, who had been convinced, that George Fox was come to London, and she the next day visited him at his lodgings.

During their continuance in London, George Fox and Edward Pyott went to Whitehall, to lay before the Protector the sufferings of their friends. They found Francis Owen, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with him. After representing their friends' sufferings to the Protector, they "directed him to the Light of Christ, which had enlightened every man that cometh into the world." This produced some controversy, in which the Protector conducted himself with an unbecoming levity, though, it appears, under the feeling of some strong convictions. After he had left the room, George Fox and his companions withdrew; and as they were going away, they met with several persons belonging to the court, with one of whom they entered into some controversy; but George finding that he was an officer in Northamptonshire, who had severely persecuted Friends, reproved him sharply for it, upon which the officer was glad to slip away, ashamed, it seems, of his unchristian conduct.

After visiting Meetings in and about London, George Fox went into Buckinghamshire, Edward Pyott still continuing with him. They had great meetings, and many received the truth in that county. After this, George passed through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, into Lincolnshire, where he had several meetings, at one of which the Wrays, who are mentioned before, were present. After this meeting, when it was dark, "a company of wild serving men" encompassed George, with a design, it seems, to have done him mischief; but he, with his usual courage, spoke to them, and said, "What are ye? Highwaymen?" This seemed to put them to a stand, and soon after, some Friends and others coming up, George reproved the men for their rude behaviour, and gave them some serious advice. "The Lord's power, he says, came over them, and stopped their mischievous design. Blessed be his name for ever."

From Lincolnshire, George Fox came into Huntingdonshire. At Huntingdon, the Mayor

was very civil, and his wife received the truth. Coming into Cambridgeshire, he was joined by Alexander Parker, Amos Stoddart, and Robert Craven; the last had been Sheriff of Lincoln. They had many meetings in the county of Cambridge, by which the principles of truth were spread among the people. At Crowland, in Lincolnshire, they met with a rude reception from the priest and people, many of whom they found at an inn, almost in a state of intoxication. George reproved them for their immoral conduct, with which the priest and clerk were so much enraged, that they took up the fire shovel and poker, and attempted to beat the Friends with them; but were not permitted to do them any material injury. In this place however some received the truth, which was also the case at Boston, where they met with a different reception, the people appearing to be much satisfied with their ministry. They had many large meetings in those parts, after which George Fox came into Yorkshire, and returned again into Lincolnshire, going afterwards into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. At Edgehill, he had sent notice of a meeting about three weeks before he came there. It was, as may be supposed, very numerously attended, and consisted of many both of his friends and enemies. Of this meeting he says, "The Lord's everlasting truth and word of life reached over all; rude and unruly spirits were

chained down; and many that day were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, came to sit under his blessed free teaching, and to be fed with his eternal heavenly food."

From Edgehill he came to Warwick and Ragley; after which he went into Gloucestershire, and returned by various places, as Oxford, Cirencester, and Evesham, to London. At Oxford, he met with much rudeness from the students; but it does not appear that he sustained any injury.

He had now travelled over the greatest part of England, in the exercise of his gift, as a gospel minister; and great was the success which attended his labours. He also took great pains to remove objections which had been raised against him and his friends, and against the doctrines which they preached. In reviewing his late exercises and travels, he expresses himself thus; "In this year, 1656, the Lord's truth was finely planted over the nation, and many thousands were turned to the Lord, so that there were seldom fewer than one thousand in prison in this nation, for truth's testimony.

CHAP. IX.

1656—7. — *At London writes various Epistles, and visits the Meetings of his Friends.—Travels into Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, &c. to Bristol.—Visits part of Wales. —Leaves it for awhile, but soon returns.—Goes into Cheshire and Lancashire.—At Swarthmore stays about two weeks.—Travels through Westmoreland and Cumberland, towards Scotland.*

WHILST George Fox was in London, he employed much of his time in writing Epistles, relating to the state of the Society which he had been instrumental in gathering, with some also to its opponents. In these epistles, he manifested the extensiveness of his mind, by embracing the various circumstances connected with the preservation of the society in unity and peace, and in the discharge of its religious duties. He also effectually repelled the attacks of those who were opposing its principles, which he laboured much to explain and defend.

Having discharged various services in and about London, he travelled into Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Hants, "visiting Friends." From the use of this expression about this time, it seems the direction of his services was in some degree altered, which was indeed a necessary consequence of the

success of his former labours. He had not now, as formerly, to travel wholly among strangers to him, and, in a great measure, to his doctrine; but he began thus early to reap the fruit of his faithful labours and patient sufferings. It was now near the close of the year 1656, a very short time since the commencement of his public ministry; and we have already seen that a society of many thousands had been formed. He had, no doubt, many fellow labourers, who greatly promoted the same good work. Great indeed was the success which attended their labours, and thus it has frequently pleased Divine Providence to produce great changes in the religious world, to the revival of gospel truth, and the spreading of gospel light. In contemplating these circumstances, though human means are used, we do not find that human power or exertions can, at their pleasure, effect it. We may therefore say; "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes."

In travelling through the counties above-mentioned, George Fox and his companions met with some rude treatment at different places, particularly at Farnham and Basingstoke. Coming to Bridport, in Dorsetshire, a design was formed to apprehend him; but it did not succeed. Several were convinced in this place, and a Meeting settled. At Portsmouth, Pool, and Ringwood, he

had large and favoured meetings, "and many were turned to the Lord." After having a meeting at Weymouth, they came through Dorchester to Lyme, where the inn was so much occupied with a company of mountebanks, that it was with difficulty they could obtain accommodation. At this place, some of the people were effectually reached, and turned, "by the light and spirit of Christ, to his free teaching."

After travelling in those parts, they came to Exeter, and at an inn called the Seven Stars, a general meeting was held of Friends out of Cornwall and Devon. Of this meeting George Fox writes thus: "A blessed heavenly meeting we had, and the Lord's everlasting power came over all, in which I saw and said, that the Lord's power had surrounded this nation as with a wall and bulwark, and his seed reached from sea to sea."

The day after this meeting, some soldiers were sent to apprehend George Fox; but before they had opportunity, he had left Exeter, from which place he came to Bristol, and thence went into Wales, and had a meeting at the Slone. Coming to Cardiff, he and his companions received much kindness from a Justice of the Peace, and next day they had a meeting at the Town-Hall, to which seventeen of the Justice's family came. Though some who attended this meeting endeavoured at first to cause disturbance, yet he observes, respecting it, that "many were turned to the Lord."

From Cardiff they came to Swansea, where a meeting was now established. In various other parts of South Wales they had meetings, till they came to Brecknock. Here they met with much rude treatment, and were in considerable danger; but were preserved from suffering any material injury. Thomas Holmes and John ap John were now George Fox's companions; the latter, it seems, had gone into the streets at Brecknock, to preach to the people, which caused a great disturbance and much rudeness. George Fox wrote a paper to the inhabitants, and also personally reproved them, as he left the town, for their unchristian conduct. Going into the country, they had a meeting in a public burying ground, which was very largely attended: "Many were convinced and settled in the truth that day." After the meeting, a Justice of the Peace said to George Fox, "You have this day given great satisfaction to the people, and answered all the objections that were in their minds." At Pont-y-moyle they had another large meeting, which was attended by many persons of consequence in the neighbourhood. Here again many were convinced, and "a large meeting gathered and settled in the name of Jesus."

Leaving Wales for a time, they came to Shrewsbury, where they had a large meeting, and another at William Gandy's, in Cheshire. At the last meeting between two and three thousand people were supposed to be present. "A blessed meeting it was; for Friends were settled by the power of God, upon Jesus Christ, the rock and foundation."

About this time there was a great drought in the nation, on which account the Protector issued a proclamation for a general fast. George Fox was concerned on this occasion to publish a paper on the subject of fasts; he also addressed one to the Protector, in which he told him, "If he had come to own God's truth, he should have had rain; and that drought was to them a sign of their barrenness, and want of the water of life."

George Fox and his companions now came again into Wales, and passed through Montgomeryshire into Radnorshire. In one place in this county they had a remarkably large meeting. George did not go into it at first, but desired John ap John to go, and if he had any thing to communicate to the people, to speak in Welch, by which more people might be collected. When the meeting was gathered, a person of the name of Morgan Watkins came to George, and said to him: "The

people lie like a leaguer,* and the gentry of the country is come in." After a little time George went into the meeting, which was in the open air, and standing upon a chair, for awhile in silence, he afterwards preached for about two hours to the people. "The scriptures were opened to them; they were directed to the light of Christ, that by it they might see their sins, and Christ Jesus to be their Saviour, their Redeemer, their Mediator; and come to feed on him, the Bread of Life, from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to his free teaching, that day; and all were bowed down under the power of God; though the multitude was so great, that many sat on horseback to hear, there was no opposition."

After this meeting, George Fox came to Leominster, in Herefordshire, having Thomas Taylor with him. Here again he had a large meeting in a field, at which several congregational preachers attended. George's mind was much enlarged in preaching the gosped to the people. The Priest of Leominster made some opposition to his doctrine, which produced a controversy, in which the Priest not succeeding, endeavoured to prevail on the Magistrates to arrest George, but in vain. This meeting was of great service in those parts. "The Lord's power came over all, the everlasting

* Bailey explains this word—A siege laid to a town.

truth was declared that day, and many were turned by it to the Lord Jesus Christ, their teacher and way to God."

Travelling through South Wales, he came to Tenby, in Pembrokeshire, and as he entered the town, a Justice of the Peace invited him to his house. George accepted the invitation. On the first day of the week he had a meeting, which was attended by the Mayor and his wife, and others of the principal inhabitants. Whilst George Fox was engaged in this meeting, his companion, John ap John, went to the public place of worship, where he was taken, and by the Governor committed to prison. This endangered George's safety, for he was the next morning sent for by the Governor; the Mayor and Justice went before him, hoping, it seems, to moderate the Governor's mind. When George entered the Governor's habitation, he said, "Peace be to this house," and afterwards asked the Governor why he cast his friend into prison. To which he replied, "For standing with his hat on in the church." On this George said, "Had not the Priest two caps on his head, a black one and a white one? Cut off the brims of the hat, and then my friend will have but one, the brims were but to defend him from weather." "These are frivolous things," said the Governor. "Why, then," replied George," "dost thou cast my friend

into prison for such frivolous things." After this they had some conversation on election and reprobation. The Governor then became moderate, and they parted friendly; John ap John being soon after released. Returning to the Justice's hospitable mansion, he and the Mayor, with their wives and several others, accompanied George and his companions to the waterside, where they parted, George being first engaged to "kneel down with them, and to pray to the Lord God to preserve them."

From Tenby they came to Pembroke and Haverfordwest, at both which places they had religious service; and a Meeting was settled at the latter. Whilst they were at Haverfordwest, there was a fair, by which many people were collected. George and his companion "passed through the fair, and sounded the day of the Lord, and his everlasting truth amongst them." They now proceeded towards North Wales, and, at various places, met with much rude treatment; their horses also being repeatedly robbed of their corn. On this subject, George exclaims, "A wicked, thievish people, to rob the poor dumb creature of his food! I had rather they had robbed me." He and his companions laboured in gospel love amongst these rude people, and had some service amongst them. In the course of their travels, they came to a very high hill, (Cader Idris, I sup-

pose,) from which there is an extensive prospect. Here George took a view of the surrounding country, and "told John ap John, a faithful Welch minister, in what places God would raise up a people to himself, to sit under his own teaching." This his companion noticed, and afterwards found the event to verify the prediction. Descending from this hill, they came to Dolgelle, where John ap John preached in Welch to the people, in the streets. This brought on a dispute, in Welch, with two Independent Priests; on which George Fox requested them to speak in English, and he then took a part in it. The priests asserted that the light which John the Baptist came to bear witness to, was a created natural light. This gave George an opportunity to explain the subject at large; after which, his companion interpreted it to the people, many of whom did not understand the English language. The priests were silenced, and the people in general well satisfied; which they afterwards expressed when the Friends left the town. Here George says: "A precious seed the Lord hath thereaway, and a great people in those parts is since gathered to the Lord Jesus Christ, to sit under his free teaching; and they have suffered much for him."

Leaving Dolgelle, they came to Caernarvon and Beaumaris, where they were exercised in gospel labour amongst the people; and at the latter

place, John ap John was imprisoned a few hours. In crossing a water near Beaumaris, they met with interruption from some persons who called themselves gentlemen, and who endeavoured to prevent John ap John's getting into the boat with his horse. This induced George to ride to the side of the boat; and after reproving the young men, he leaped his horse into it, expecting his companion's would have followed; but this not being the case, on account of the depth of the water, George leaped his horse out again, and staid with John ap John till the boat returned. Here they were detained till afternoon, and had forty-two miles to ride that evening. After they had crossed the water and paid their passage, they found that they had but one groat in money left between them. This induced them to travel all night, and early in the morning they came to a place within a few miles of Wrexham; where, that day, they met with many Friends, and "had a glorious meeting, the Lord's everlasting power and truth being over all." Here they were refreshed in body and mind, for they had undergone great fatigue in travelling through Wales; finding it difficult, in many places, to procure refreshment for themselves or their horses. After travelling in Flintshire, they came to Wrexham, where they met with many of what George calls "Floyds People," a religious society, I suppose. They were very rude and light in their

behaviour; but they met with suitable reproof. Some persons were however convinced in this town. In reviewing his religious services in the Principality of Wales, George Fox observes, that he "had travelled through every county in Wales, preaching the everlasting gospel of Christ; and a brave people there is now, who have received it, and sit under Christ's teaching."*

Leaving Wales, they came to Chester, called at that time West Chester. Here they staid awhile, and visited Friends, several of whom, it is likely, would be there from distant parts; it being the time of the fair, which is more a commercial than an agricultural one. From this place they came to Liverpool, where there was also a fair, in which they found a Friend preaching at the Cross. He seeing George Fox, and knowing that he had appointed a meeting on a hill near the town, gave public notice of it. The meeting was accordingly held next day, and, as may be supposed, was very numerously attended. Some rudeness for awhile took place; but afterwards the people became quiet. "The truth of God was preached among them; many were that day settled upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, and under his teaching who made peace betwixt God and them."

* It may not be improper to observe, that many of those who were convinced in Wales, afterwards emigrated to Pennsylvania; as did Friends in many other parts of Britain. This circumstance has greatly tended to lessen the number of Friends in this country.

After leaving Liverpool, they travelled towards Manchester, having a meeting on the way, at a town where the Bailiff attended with his sword, and was very rude; but no injury ensued. When they came to Manchester, it was the time of the Sessions, which caused many rude people to be collected. This, however, did not discourage George from holding a religious meeting, in which he was much abused by the people throwing stones, dirt, and water at him; and when they could not prevail by this means, they applied to the Justices, who sent officers to bring him before them. When George came to the Court, he found it in such confusion and disorder, that he remonstrated with the Magistrates, both on this account, and on the treatment which he had met with. The Justices behaved with great moderation, putting him under the care of the constable till next morning, when he was liberated. The disturbance at this place appears to have been occasioned by people, who made high profession of religion; for he observes, "The Lord has since raised up a people to stand for his name and truth in that town, over those chaffy professors."

From Manchester he travelled by Preston and Lancaster, to Swarthmore, having meetings at various places. At Lancaster he met with his friend Colonel West, who was pleased

to see him, and told Judge Fell, that George "was mightily grown in the truth." On this he remarks, that the Colonel "was come nearer the truth, and so could better discern it." Before they came to Swarthmore, they had a general meeting of Friends in Westmoreland and Lancashire, which it seems was also attended by other people; for he not only observes that "Friends were settled upon the foundation Christ Jesus;" but adds, that "many were convinced and turned to the Lord." The day after this meeting, he came to Swarthmore, where he met with a cordial reception. "They rejoiced with me," he says, "in the goodness of the Lord, who, by his eternal power, had carried me through and over many difficulties and dangers in his service: to him be the praise for ever."

It might seem necessary for this indefatigable labourer now to rest awhile, after his hard travelling: but he did not continue at Swarthmore quite two weeks, and, during this time, he visited some Meetings in the neighbourhood, and wrote several epistles for public use: two of them to his Friends, and one to their persecutors. From Swarthmore he passed into Westmoreland, and came to John Audland's; where a general meeting was held, in which a person attempted, with a drawn sword, to press through the crowd, with an intention to injure George Fox; but the people

stood so close, that he could not accomplish his wicked design. "The meeting ended peaceably and the Lord's everlasting power came over all." From this place he passed through Kendall, where a constable had a warrant to apprehend him, and, on seeing George on horseback, went to fetch it; but was prevented executing it by his not stopping in the town. He now travelled northward, and, at Stricklandhead, had a large and quiet meeting, though there were races at that time very near the meeting place. George went afterwards to the race-ground, and preached to the people there; from whom it does not appear that he met with any interruption.

After he had finished his services in Westmoreland, he came into Cumberland; and having a meeting in Gilsland, came to Carlisle. At this place it was usual to put Friends out of the town, when they came there; but a great flood occurring just at this time, prevented the Magistrates from executing their malevolent purpose; and a meeting was held on first day. From this place he came to Abbeyholm, where he had a small meeting. When at this place before, he had foretold that "there would be a great people come forth to the Lord; which hath since come to pass." From this place he came to Langlands, where was a general meeting, which was very large, most of

the people having forsaken the Priests; so that many of the public places of worship were nearly empty. At Pardshaw Cragg, John Wilkinson, who has been mentioned before, attended the meeting, with three or four of his followers; and were all convinced. He was a Priest, and preached at three places; but his hearers had chiefly joined Friends. Of him George says, that "he became an able minister, preached the gospel freely, and turned many to Christ's free teaching."

CHAP. X.

1657-8—Visits Scotland—Returns through Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, &c. towards London.—A General Yearly Meeting held in Bedfordshire—In London disputes with a Jesuit—Advises Oliver Cromwell against accepting the Title of King—Writes to his Daughter Claypole.

GEORGE FOX having now visited all parts of England and Wales, and some of them repeatedly, turned his attention to Scotland; to which he had felt his mind drawn for a considerable time past. Previously to his going, he requested Colonel William Osburn, who lived in Scotland, to meet him; and he, with a few others, came to the meeting at Pardshaw Cragg. The Colonel accompanied George in his visit to Scotland, as did also Robert Widders, whom he calls "a thundering man against hypocrisy, deceit, and the rottenness of the Priests." These qualities were, perhaps, never more evident among the ruling powers in church and state than at that time. They had been making a great outcry for liberty of every kind; but no sooner did they acquire power, than they exercised the greatest bitterness, and manifested as little regard for liberty, as any that had preceded them. Their avarice also was very great; for though tithes were one of the principal subjects of their com-

plaints against the Episcopal Church, they no sooner acquired power, than they appropriated them to their own clergy, to the great dissatisfaction and disappointment of many of their supporters. Many also of the Episcopalians had joined the Independents, in order to keep their church livings. These observations are made to account for the strong expressions used by George Fox and our early Friends, respecting the Priests and many other religious professors in those times; who, notwithstanding their superior pretences, were lamentably deficient in those qualities, which our blessed Redeemer, in his sermon on the Mount, and on other occasions, has particularly marked with his approbation.

George Fox and his companions now entered Scotland, and the first night lodged at an inn. In the evening they visited a nobleman who lived in the neighbourhood, and had expressed to the landlord a desire to see George, when he came that way. He received them very lovingly, and said that he would have accompanied them on their journey, had he not been engaged to attend a funeral. The next day they passed through Dumfries to Douglas, where they found some Friends. They afterwards went to the Heads, supposed to be near Glasgow, where they "had a blessed meeting in the name of Jesus, and felt him

in the midst." From the Heads they came to Badcow, where they had a large meeting; and thence towards the Highlands, stopping in their way at the house of William Osburn. Here they collected an account of Friends' sufferings, and the principles of the Scotch Priests; and afterwards (probably when they came to Edinburgh) published them in a book, entitled, "The Scotch Priests' Principles." It does not appear that they now went far into the Highlands, but soon returned to Heads, Badcow, and Garshore. When in this part before, a Lady Margaret Hamilton was convinced, who probably lived at Garshore. She "afterwards went (to London, I suppose) to warn Oliver Cromwell and Charles Fleetwood, of the day of the Lord that was coming upon them."

On first day, George Fox and his companions had a large meeting at or near Garshore, in which he treated largely on the doctrine of Election and Reprobation, opposing those Calvinistical principles of the Priests, who told the people, that "God had ordained the greatest part of men and women for hell; that let them do what they could, it was all to no purpose, if they were ordained to hell. That God had a certain number elected for heaven, and let them do what they would, yet they were elected vessels for heaven." These principles George Fox manifested to be inconsistent

with the scriptures, which he explained largely. "The eyes of the people," he observes, "were opened, and a spring of life rose up amongst them." The Priests, however, were much alarmed, when they heard of George Fox being come into Scotland; and proceeded so far as to draw up a number of curses, by which they intended to oppose the principles of Friends; and when this could not answer their purpose, they went to Edinburgh, with petitions to the council there. George, who seems never to have shrunk from danger, where his duty led him, came there soon after, lodging at Linlithgow in his way, where the innkeeper's wife, a blind woman, "received the Word of Life, and came under the teaching of Christ Jesus her Saviour."

Being now come to Edinburgh, and William Osburn with him, they continued there some time; and went down to Leith, where they had a meeting, which was attended by many of the officers and their wives. Some disturbance was made by the Baptists, and also by others who seemed to be of atheistical notions; but they were all confounded, and left the meeting. Afterwards, George says, "a fine precious time we had with several people of account; and the Lord's power came over all." Several of the officers and of their wives were convinced; among whom was the wife of Edward

Billing, who had lived separate from her husband, on which account George sent for him, and produced a reconciliation between them; so that they "agreed to live together in love and unity, as man and wife."

When George and his companion returned to Edinburgh, they found several thousands of people, among whom were many priests, collected, on account of the burning of a witch. This circumstance gave him an opportunity of preaching to this large multitude; after which he went to a meeting of his own appointing. To this meeting many rude people, and some disputing Baptists, came, who for awhile caused a disturbance, but being silenced, and leaving the place, a very satisfactory meeting was afterwards held. In returning from this meeting, he found that the Scotch priests had succeeded in their application to the Magistrates of Edinburgh, from whom he received an order, dated the 8th of October, 1657, to appear before them on the 13th of the same month. George obeyed the summons of the Magistrates; but before he was conducted into the Council Chamber, his hat was taken off, which caused a short remonstrance, in which he informed the doorkeeper, that he had been suffered to stand before the Protector with his hat on. After he had been awhile before the Magistrates, he ad-

dressed them in these words; "Peace be amongst you. Wait in the fear of God, that ye may receive his wisdom from above, by which all things were made and created; that by it ye may all be ordered, and may order all things under your hands, to God's glory." After this address, the Magistrates inquired into the cause of his coming to Scotland; whether he had any outward business there, and how long he intended to stay; to which George gave them proper replies, informing them of the nature of his visit to that country, and that though he was not likely to stay long in it, yet in this he stood in the will of him that sent him. Having withdrawn awhile till the Magistrates consulted together, he was again brought before them, and ordered to leave the country in a week from that time. He remonstrated with them on their illegal conduct, but in vain; and they even refused to hear him in his own defence; on which he reminded them, that Pharoah, though a Heathen, heard Moses and Aaron; and Herod heard John the Baptist. When he was taken away from the council chamber, he returned to his inn, where he wrote to the council, and laid before them their unchristian conduct, in banishing an innocent man, who sought their salvation and eternal good. The letter seems to have had a good effect on some of the Magistrates; to whom the measure they had meted out was soon after re-

turned; and they that had banished him, were soon after banished themselves, or glad to get out of the way.

Notwithstanding the illegal and unjust order of the council, George Fox continued some time at Edinburgh and its neighbourhood; after which he went again to Heads, where Friends suffered much from the violence of the Priests, who excommunicated them, and ordered the people to have no commercial dealings with them, either in selling or buying; but their malice was frustrated by the interference of Colonel Ashfield, who was also a Justice of the Peace, and who put a stop to these violent proceedings. The Colonel was himself afterwards convinced, had a Meeting settled in his house, became a Minister in the society, and lived and died in it.

Having visited and encouraged his Friends at and about Heads, George Fox went to Glasgow; and as he entered the town, the guard took him before the Governor, who soon set him at liberty. A meeting was appointed at this place, to which none of the townspeople coming, George and his companions preached through the streets; and leaving the town, came towards Badcow, and to William Osburn's. Whilst in this part, they were waylaid by some thieves, who being observed by

George Fox, he requested William Osburn to return and seek for Robert Widders, who had tarried behind to speak to a priest. William Osburn was loth to leave George by himself; but he, with his usual courage, pressed him to return; to which he at length consented. When he was gone, George desired the men to come to him, with which they reluctantly and tremblingly complied. He then admonished them to be honest, and gave them some religious advice, which it appears they did not resent. Here George staid till his companions came up, and then they went all together to the house of their friend and companion, Wm. Osburn, where they had a good opportunity to preach to the people who came there. They now passed into the Highlands, but the inhabitants were so extremely violent, that they ran at the Friends with pitchforks, and attempted to maim, if not to kill, both them and their horses; but he says, "through the Lord's goodness we escaped them, being preserved by his power."

Leaving the Highlands, they came to Stirling, where the soldiers arrested them, and took them before the officers, who soon set them at liberty. They could not easily obtain a religious meeting with the inhabitants of this place; but, the next day, there being a horse-race near the town, many of the inhabitants and officers went to it; and, as

they returned, George took the opportunity of preaching to them. Some confessed to the truth of his doctrine, though others opposed: "but," to use his own words, "the Lord's truth and power came over them all."

From Stirling they went to Burnt-island, in Fifeshire, where they had two meetings at Captain Pool's. He and his wife were both convinced, as were also several officers of the army. After passing through some other places, they came to Johnston's, now called Perth, where they found a very bitter spirit excited against them, particularly among and by the Baptists; who, when they could not prevail by fair disputation, applied to the Governor, and obtained a company of foot soldiers, by whom the Friends were forced out of the town. Alexander Parker and James Lancaster, as well as Robert Widders, were now George Fox's companions. As they passed through the town, guarded by the soldiers, "James Lancaster was moved to sing with a melodious sound in the power of God;" and George preached the everlasting gospel to the people, who generally came out of their houses; so that the streets were filled with them. The soldiers were much ashamed of their part of the business, and said they had rather have gone to Jamaica, than have guarded them. These malevolent Baptists were soon after turned

out of the army, and the Governor was dismissed on the restoration of Charles the Second.

Being thus forced from Johnston's, and they and their horses conveyed in boats over the water, they went to another market town, where Edward Billing, already mentioned, was quartered, and many soldiers with him. Coming to an inn, the Friends applied for a place in which to hold a meeting, and the Town-hall was proposed by the military part of the inhabitants; but the Magistrates not being so favourably disposed, appointed a meeting of their own to be held there at the same time. The officers desired them, notwithstanding this, to go to the Town-hall, but this they refused, considering it by no means justifiable. They therefore went to the market place, and it being market day, they had an opportunity of preaching to a very large company, who however paid very little attention whilst Alexander Parker was preaching; but when George Fox began to preach, the people came out of the Town-hall, the Magistrates following them, and a large company was thus collected. "The people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them, and had enlightened them, that with his light they might see their evil deeds, be saved from their sins by him, and might come to know him to be their teacher." Several of the people and

soldiers, after this meeting, became more kindly disposed, especially the English, of whom there would probably be many among the soldiers; some of whom were afterwards convinced.

George Fox and his companions came from this place to Leith, where he was informed by the innkeeper and several other kindly disposed people, that the Council at Edinburgh had issued warrants to apprehend him; but this did not prevent his going there again. Indeed so little was he intimidated with the information, that he said to those who communicated it; "What do ye tell me of their warrants? If there were a cart load of them, I do not regard them, for the Lord's power is over them all." When he came to Edinburgh, he went to his former inn, but no one attempted to arrest or meddle with him. After visiting his friends in this city, he and his companions took horse next morning. When out of the town, he informed his companions, that it was upon him "from the Lord to go back to Johnston's, and to set the power of God and his truth over them also." Alexander Parker offered to accompany him, and it was thought best for his two other companions, Thomas Rawlinson and Robert Widders, to stay behind. George's horse tiring that of his companion, he went alone to Johnston's, which he entered without any molestation,

just as they were drawing up the bridges. George rode directly to Captain Davenport's, from whose lodgings or house he had been banished. Several officers were with the Captain, who admired at George's courage, in coming again amongst them. When the Baptists heard of his return, they sent him a challenge for a dispute the next day, which he accepted, appointing a time, and a place about half a mile from the town. Captain Davenport and his son accompanied George to the place appointed, but no Baptists came, whose design it seems was to get him into their power, and again to force him out of the town. The Captain was at this time very loving to Friends, and afterwards lost his place for the conformity of his conduct with their practices and principles. Whilst waiting here, Alexander Parker came in sight, and George and he returned to their companions, Alexander going by the town mentioned before, where they had the meeting in the market, and George by Lieutenant Foster's quarters, where he found several officers, who had embraced the principles which he propagated.

George and his Friends now returned again to Edinburgh, which they entered without any interruption. The next day they had a meeting there, which was attended by many of the army; in which they met with no disturbance. George

says, "A glorious meeting it was; the everlasting power of God was set over the nation, and his Son reigned in his glorious power."

His mind being now at liberty to leave Scotland, he and his companions travelled towards England, having a large and satisfactory meeting at Dunbar. This was the last meeting he had at this time in Scotland; after which he makes these remarks respecting his travels in that country: "The truth and power of God was set over that nation, and many, by the power and Spirit of God, were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, their saviour and teacher, whose blood was shed for them; and there is since a great increase, and great there will be in Scotland; though the time be far distant at present; for when first I set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire. Not but that there is abundance of thick cloddy earth of hypocrisy, and falseness atop, and a briary, brambly nature, which is to be burned up with God's word, and ploughed up with his spiritual plough, before God's seed brings forth heavenly and spiritual fruit to his glory; but the husbandman is to wait in patience."

Leaving Scotland, they came by Berwick to Morpeth, having a good, though small, meeting at

the former place. They came next to Newcastle, where, it seems, George had been before, though not noticed in his Journal. The Priests at this place, and one at least of the Magistrates, had manifested much enmity against Friends, and said "the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fells like butterflies." George, taking Anthony Pearson with him, (whom, it is probable, he found at Newcastle) went to some of the Aldermen of the town, and spoke to them respecting the books which they had published, and the reports they had raised; desiring also to have a meeting amongst them, but this they would not permit; and therefore a meeting was held on the other side of the river, at Gateside, now called Gateshead; where George observes "a meeting is continued to this day in the name of Jesus." Since his time, however, the meeting has been removed to Newcastle.

George and his companions, (but who they now were is not certain,) travelling in Northumberland, and the Bishoprick or County of Durham, had a large and good meeting at Lieutenant Dove's, where many were turned to the Lord. Coming to Durham, they met with a person lately arrived from London, with an intention to establish a college for preparing young men for the ministry. George visited this man, and reasoned with him

on the insufficiency of human learning, for making a gospel minister. The man assented to much of what George said, was very tender, and ultimately declined to set up his college.

From Durham they went to Anthony Pearson's, who, it seems, had a house in these parts; and afterwards into Cleveland, and Holderness, and by Hull and Pontefract, to Scalehouse and Swarthmore. After visiting Friends in these parts, George returned into Yorkshire, and went afterwards into Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire. In these visits he had many large and good meetings, the Lord's presence and power accompanying.

At Nottingham, Geo. Fox met with Rice Jones, who appears to have been the head of a people, that had once been very religious; but were now much declined. George wishing to see this people, requested Jones to collect them, with which came to the Castle, where a meeting was held, he reluctantly complied; and about eighty of them which appeared to have a good effect upon the minds of many of them. Some disputation arose afterward, in which George showed this man and his followers, their deviation from the simplicity and purity, which many of them had once experienced. Not long after, he and his company were

quite scattered; but several of them joined Friends. This Rice Jones had some years before said of George Fox, that "he was then at the highest, and should fall;" but in this, as in many other instances, we see the propriety of the apostolic admonition: "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

From Nottingham George Fox and his companions travelled into the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Northampton, and Bedford, having meetings at various places. Whilst in the last mentioned county, they came to the house of John Crook, lately a Justice of the Peace; and here was held a general yearly meeting for the whole nation, which lasted three days. This meeting was attended by Friends from different parts of the nation, and many thousands of people were at it; so that the inns and towns in the neighbourhood were filled. "Although there was some disturbance, yet the Lord's power came over, and a glorious meeting it was. The everlasting gospel was preached, and many received it." In this meeting George Fox was not only led into public labour for the people in general, who, it appears, were mostly Friends; but he also communicated much pertinent and deep instruction to those, who were engaged in the work of the ministry, which being taken down at the time, he gives the substance of it in his Journal, and it is peculiarly worthy the

perusal of those who are engaged in that important service.

This meeting appears to have been the first held for the society at large. George Fox calls it "a general yearly meeting," by which it is probable that an annual general meeting had been agreed upon, though it is not easy to trace the regular continuance of it till some years after the time of this meeting, which was held in the year 1658, probably in the spring. Soon after the conclusion of this meeting, a party of horse, and a constable, came to John Crook's to arrest George Fox; but he having at the time taken a walk in the garden, and the soldiers seeking him only in the house, they departed without accomplishing their object.

After this meeting, George Fox came to London, visiting his friends in the way thither. Soon after his arrival in that city, he heard of a Spanish Jesuit, who had challenged all the Quakers to a dispute, at the house of the Earl of Newport; but when he understood that this challenge was likely to be accepted, he limited the number to twelve, and afterwards reduced it to six, and then to three. George fearing lest the Jesuit should wholly decline the conference, hastened to the place appointed, accompanied by Nicholas Bond

and Edward Burrough, whom George sent first to the Jesuit with some directions how to open the conference. When it had commenced, George joined them, and a long debate ensued, principally on the purity, or rather impurity, of the Romish Church, and on the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Jesuit was so closely argued with, that the people who were present, and who would be principally of his own party, saw his error, and that he could not defend himself. After some remarks on the persecuting spirit of the Romish Church, they parted with the Jesuit, "and his subtlety was confuted by simplicity."

At this time, Friends both in this nation and Ireland, were under great sufferings for their religious principles; and George Fox, during his residence in London, laid their cases before Oliver Cromwell. A subscription was at this time recommended by the government, for the relief of the Protestants suffering by the persecution of Papists, in different parts of Europe; and at the same time a general fast being appointed, George published a paper, in which he showed the necessary attendants of the true fast; and manifested the injustice and self-condemnation of their conduct, who were blaming the Papists for persecuting the Protestants abroad; while they, calling themselves Protestants, were, at the same time, persecuting their Protestant neighbours and friends at home. George Fox was indeed much burdened with the insincerity and hypocrisy of the various parties, which, during the Interregnum, rose into power; each of which, he successively warned and apprized of their downfall. So great at this time were the sufferings of the society, that many Friends who were at liberty, feeling for their suffering brethren, requested of the Parliament that they might be permitted to take their places, particularly of those whose lives were considered in danger. "This," he says, "we did in love to God and our brethren, that they might not die in prison; and in love to those that cast them in, that they might not bring innocent blood upon their own heads." But notwithstanding these liberal proposals, those high professors were so far from granting the requests, that they would sometimes be enraged, and threaten the kind applicants with whipping them and sending them home. The Parliament, which was now sitting, was principally composed of those who were the highest in religious profession; but, it seems, the most violent in persecution. To them George addressed a few lines, which he concludes with these unequivocal expressions from the Apostle James: "Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of

slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you."

Whilst he was in London, there was a proposal for giving Cromwell the title of King, which induced George to go to him and advise him against it; and it seems his advice was well received. He also wrote to him on the subject; and about this time the Protector's daughter, Claypole, being out of health, and low in mind, George wrote a letter of religious advice to her; which, when it was read, she said stayed her mind for the present.

CHAP. XI.

1658-60—Leaves London—Meets Cromwell in the Park at Hampton-Court—Goes into Bucks—Returns to London—Goes into Essex—Hears of Cromwell's Death—Returns to London—Goes to Reading—Suffers much in Body and Mind—Comes again to London—Travels as far as Cornwall—Remonstrates on the Practice of plundering wrecked Vessels.

GEORGE FOX feeling his mind now at liberty from the various services, in which he had been engaged in London, prepared to leave the city; but as he was going out, two troopers arrested him and two Friends who were with him, and took them to the Mews, where they were detained a few hours; and then, without any examination, liberated. George now took a boat to Kingston, being desirous of speaking again to the Protector, who was at Hampton-Court, respecting the sufferings of his friends. He met Cromwell riding in the Park at the head of his life guard, and George says, "I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him, and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man." After laying the sufferings of friends before him, and warning him respecting his own state, the Protector desired George to come to him at his own house. Going accordingly the next day to Hampton-

Court, he was informed that the Protector was sick, and the doctors were not willing that he should be spoken with. George now left Kingston, and went to his friend, Isaac Pennington's, in Buckinghamshire, where he had appointed a meeting, in which, he says, "the Lord's power and truth was preciously manifested."

After spending some time in visiting Friends in these parts, he returned to London; and soon after went into Essex, where he heard of Cromwell's death, and that his son Richard was made Protector; upon which George went again to London. A Church Faith, about this time, was given forth; and George, having procured a copy in manuscript, printed an Answer, which was published at the same time with the Faith. This greatly irritated some of the Parliament Men; and one of them told George that they must have him to Smithfield; which was the place used, in Queen Mary's days, for burning the Protestants. This threat did not at all intimidate him; for he replied to it, that he was over their fires, and feared them not. Thus did this courageous soldier of Christ stand his ground, and nobly contend for the faith delivered to the saints.

Leaving London again, he went to Captain Birkhead's, at Twickenham, where a meeting was held, which was numerously and respectably at-

tended. "A glorious meeting it was, wherein the scriptures were largely and clearly opened: and Christ exalted above all, to the great satisfaction of the hearers."

This time of great persecution seemed to increase, as the present powers drew near to a termination. George Fox says, that "besides imprisonments, through which many died, meetings were greatly disturbed. They have thrown rotten eggs and wild-fire into our meetings, and brought in drums beating, and kettles to make noises with, that the truth might not be heard; and among these the priests were as rude as any." This state of things induced George Fox to salute his Friends with a short, but affectionate and instructive epistle, encouraging them to faithfulness and patience in their sufferings. The epistle is as follows:

"My dear friends, every where, in prison, or out of prison; fear not because of the report of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and Anakims are in the land; for at the blowing of the rams horns did the walls of Jericho fall; and they that brought the evil report perished in the wilderness. Dwell in faith, patience, and hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and, having the oath of

God, his covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder, and makes them to run all on heaps, in that stand; and ye will see all things work together for good, to them that love God. In that triumph when sufferings come, whatever they may be. Your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour, you have on. You are ready to skip over a mountain, a wall, or an hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be as heaps upon heaps. The evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness; but Caleb which signifies an heart, and Joshua a Saviour, triumph over all.

"G. F."

George Fox now retired to Reading, where he continued about ten weeks, and underwent much exercise of mind, by which his bodily health was affected. The nation was now in a very agitated state, the restoration of Charles the Second being in contemplation, and soon after effected. Friends were suspected of promoting this object in their meetings, but they did not, as a people, interfere with any matters relating to Government; and George, who was returned to London, was afraid, lest, in the present state of public affairs, any young or inexperienced persons, who might sometimes come amongst Friends, should be drawn to take part on either side. He therefore wrote two epistles on the occasion, showing that, consistently

with the principles of the doctrine of Christ, which they had embraced, they could not join in any military combinations, nor in those plots and contrivances which were connected with them. He also published a paper on account of the superstitious regard which was paid, by the republican party, to Oliver Cromwell, whose effigy, after his burial, lay a considerable time in state, with people sounding trumpets over the image.

George Fox continued a considerable time in London, visiting the Meetings of his Friends there, and in the neighbourhood, as well as being engaged in other services; after which he went into Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. He came to Norwich about the time called Christmas, but I cannot ascertain whether this was in the close of the year 1658 or 9, but I suppose the former. The Mayor of Norwich, having heard of a meeting being appointed, had issued a warrant to apprehend George Fox; who hearing of it, requested some of his friends in that city, to speak to the Mayor, by which he was induced not to put his warrant in execution. A large meeting was accordingly held; and though attended by many rude people, and by "several Priests, Professors, and Ranters," it concluded to great satisfaction. During the meeting, one of the priests stood up and cried, "Error, blasphemy, and an ungodly meeting." This induced George to call upon him for an ex-

planation of his assertion, which having attempted, he was replied to in such a manner, as convinced the people, that the priest had charged what he could not prove. The dispute had a good effect on their minds; and removed the prejudice which they had entertained against Friends. The result of the meeting George describes thus: "A glorious day this was; for truth came over all, and people were turned to God by his power and Spirit; and to the Lord Jesus Christ their free teacher, who was exalted over all."

When this meeting was over, he left Norwich that evening; and afterwards came to Col. Dennis's, where he had a large meeting. After visiting Friends in Norfolk, he came into Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and several other counties. Many were convinced in different parts, though he met with much rude treatment in his travels; but he might truly say with the Apostle: "None of these things move me."

Having finished his services, at present, in the country, he returned to London, where General Monk was arrived, and the gates of the city were pulling down. George Fox had repeatedly, by word and writing, warned the different ruling parties, both in Oliver's time and afterwards, "of the day of recompence that was coming upon them;"

and now, before they were wholly removed from their authority, he thought it right to lay their conduct before them; which he did in a spirited and energetic address.

About this time, the soldiers under General Monk's command, being often concerned in disturbing Friends' meetings, their conduct was represented to the General; and he issued an order, dated "St. James's, 9th of March, 1659, requiring all officers and soldiers to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers." This order restrained the conduct of the military, and probably had a beneficial effect upon others.

Being now at liberty to leave London; and finding his mind drawn to visit Friends in the western parts of England, George Fox travelled into Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, "visiting Friends in the Lord's power, and having great meetings amongst them." Ringwood, Pool, and Dorchester, are the only places he particularly mentions in these parts. At Dorchester, the constables and officers of the town came to the meeting, under the pretence of looking for a jesuit, whose head they said was shaved. They took off George Fox's hat, to examine his head, when they found that the mark did not apply to him; of which it seems they had been misinformed. Find-

ing their mistake, and that the company was disgusted with their conduct, they withdrew with shame. The meeting, which was very large, many soldiers as well as others being present, was then held to much satisfaction; "and people were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ their teacher, who had bought them, and would reconcile them to God."

From Dorsetshire he and his companions, (for such it seems he had,) came into Somersetshire, where, he says, the Presbyterians and other Professors were very wicked, and often disturbed Friends' meetings. The following affecting circumstance he relates, as having occurred in that county. One time, a very wicked man put a bear's skin on his back, with which he played his pranks in a meeting; and, setting himself opposite to a Friend who was speaking, he lolled his tongue out of his mouth, and made sport for his wicked companions; causing a great disturbance in the meeting. But as he returned home, there being a bull-baiting in the way, he stayed to see it, and coming near the bull, he struck his horn under the man's chin, into his throat, by which his tongue was forced out of his mouth, as he had placed it in derision, in the meeting. The bull's horn running up into the man's head, he was swung about in a terrible manner; and though his death is not mentioned, it does not seem likely he could long survive such a circumstance.

Travelling through Somersetshire and Devonshire, they came to Plymouth, from which place they proceeded to Cornwall, as far as the Land's End, having "many precious and blessed meetings, wherein the convinced were established, and many were added to them." Whilst in Cornwall, George Fox, whose heart seems to have been always open to the feelings of humanity, was much distressed with the conduct of the people, in cases of shipwreck. It seems that scarcely any exertions were used for saving the lives of the distressed seamen; but the people, "rich and poor," united in plundering the property of the vessels, and securing it for their own private advantage. This induced George to write and publish a paper, remonstrating with the people on their wicked conduct, and contrasting it with that of the Heathens in the Island of Melita, where Paul and his companions were shipwrecked. To this letter he added a postscript, which was addressed to his own Friends; and as it exhibits a specimen of the kind of morals which he inculcated, as well as shows the amiable tenderness of his disposition, it may not be improper to transcribe it.

"All dear Friends, who fear the Lord God, keep out of the ravenous world's spirit, which leads to raven and destroy, and is out of the wisdom of God. When ships are wrecked, do not run to destroy and make havock of ship and

goods with the world; but run to save the men and the goods for them; and so deny yourselves, and do unto them as ye would they should do unto you."

This paper was of considerable service; and Friends complying with the above advice, have particularly exerted themselves to assist and relieve distressed seamen, in cases of shipwreck; which George Fox says "is an act to be practised by all true Christians."

CHAP. XII.

1660—From Cornwall proceeds by Devon and Somerset to Bristol—Has large Meetings there—Comes to Worcester—Great Excesses on the King's return—Visits his Relations in Leicestershire—Comes by Derbyshire into Yorkshire—Yearly Meeting at Balby—General Meeting at Skipton—Is committed to Lancaster Jail—Is removed to London and liberated.

IN Cornwall, George Fox had many satisfactory meetings; and several persons of eminence were convinced in that county, whom manifold sufferings could not draw from their principles. He now returned into Devonshire and Somersetshire, visiting Friends till he came to Bristol. This place he entered on a seventh day, and understanding that, the day before, Friends' meeting had been disturbed by the soldiers, who were encouraged by the Mayor, he requested four Friends of that city to apply to the Mayor and Aldermen, and to request, that as they would not permit Friends to meet in their usual place, they would accommodate them with the Town-Hall, offering twenty pounds a year for the use of it, and engaging not to interfere with the public business. The Friends were startled at this request; but at length consented to make it, and, to their astonishment, found the Mayor willing to accept the pro-

posal; but being only one among many who had the power of acceding to it, the offer could not immediately be complied with. The Mayor's mind was, however, softened by the conduct of these Friends. When they returned, George requested them to go to the Colonel of the regiment, whose soldiers had been so abusive, and lay their conduct before him; but this the Friends declined, which had nearly been of very serious consequence; for at the meeting next day, several rude people and soldiers came, some with drawn swords, and one of them had bound himself by an oath "to cut down and kill the man that spoke." He pressed through the crowd, till he came within about two yards of George Fox, who, it seems, was preaching. The four Friends, who had been requested to speak to the Colonel, were near him; and the man, entering into dispute with them, suddenly put up his sword; "for the Lord's power came over all, and chained him with the rest;" after which the meeting was held to much satisfaction. The next day, the four Friends went to speak to the Colonel respecting the conduct of his men, who not only reprimanded the soldiers, but also wounded them with his sword whilst the Friends were present. This George, with his usual humane and christian spirit, blamed the Friends for suffering in their presence, and also for not going to the Colonel when he first desired

it; which might have prevented both the disturbance at the meeting, and the punishment of the men.

After this a general meeting was held at Edward Pyott's, near Bristol, which was so numerously attended, both by Friends and others, that the people who remained, said the city looked naked. The meeting "was very quiet, many glorious truths were opened to the people; and the Lord Jesus Christ was set up, who is the end of all figures and shadows of the law, and of the first covenant."

Leaving Bristol and its neighbourhood, George Fox went by * Oldeston and Nailsworth, to Gloucester. Here they had a peaceable meeting, though the city was at that time in a very agitated state, the inhabitants and soldiers being much divided; one part being for the Parliament, and the other for the restoration of King Charles. George, however, passed quietly out of the town, though some of the King's party said, after he was gone, that they would have shot him, had they known who he was. From Gloucester he came to Colonel Grimes's, where was held a large general

* Oldeston I do not find in any Nomina Villarum. I suppose it to be Olveston.

meeting, of which he says, " the Lord's truth and power was set over all." He proceeded to Tewkesbury and Worcester; and, in his travels, had to lament the rioting and drunkenness which then prevailed; it being the time of a general election, which is mostly accompanied with excesses and animosities, disgraceful to the christian character. At this time the state of parties rendered it worse than usual; and the joy that many experienced, at the prospect of the King's return, induced them to indulge in all those excesses, which too many people think the only mode of demonstrating their pleasure. Besides, this party was always considered the most lax in its morals, and being now more at liberty, they manifested their evil propensities more freely. But notwithstanding these national tumults, George Fox and his friends enjoyed themselves in their quiet and peaceable meetings at Worcester, where he says; " The Lord's truth was set over all; people were finely settled therein, and Friends praised the Lord. Nay, I saw the very earth rejoiced."

Leaving Worcester, he visited the meetings of his Friends, till he came to the place of his nativity, where he spent a little time among his relations; to whom he appears to have been affectionately attached. From Drayton he came by Twycross and Swanington, to Derby, at which place he found his old jailer convinced and joined to

Friends. Passing through Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, he came to Synderhill Green and Balby, in Yorkshire. At this place, he says, " our yearly meeting was held, in a great orchard of John Kellam's." Whether this meeting was for the society in general, or only for Friends in that county or neighbourhood, it is difficult to determine; but I suppose the latter. The report however of the meeting had spread to York, from which place a troop of horse was sent to disperse it. Whilst George was preaching, two trumpeters, sounding their trumpets, rode through the midst of the company to him; and the Captain who was with them commanded George to come down; for he had orders to disperse the meeting. They then entered into some conversation, by which the Captain was so softened, that he was induced to leave a few of his men to attend to their proceedings, who permitted the meeting to continue to its regular close; which was about three hours after. " Friends passed away in peace, greatly refreshed with the presence of the Lord, and filled with joy and gladness." This was a singular deliverance from the malice of their enemies; and some militia men, who probably sent to York for the troop of horse, were much enraged at the Captain and his company, for not proceeding to greater extremities. The Captain also was a desperate man. George Fox

had met with him in Scotland, where he told George, "He would obey his superior's commands, if it was to crucify Christ, or execute the great Turk's commands against the Christians." But the "eminent power of the Lord chained both him and his troopers, and those envious militia soldiers also, who went away, not having power to hurt any, nor to break up the meeting." A meeting was held next day at Warmsworth, for Friends in the ministry; after which, those who lived at a distance departed homewards; but several were arrested and confined for a short time. On the day that the meeting at Balby was held, General Lambert, who was opposed to the King's return, was defeated, which produced a great bustle in the nation; and George Fox had some difficulty in retaining his horse, which Lambert's party wished to purchase from him; but he refused to part with it, telling them, "God would confound and scatter them," which was verified in a few days.

Having finished his service at Balby and Warmsworth, he travelled by * Barton Abbey, and Thomas Taylor's, to Skipton. Here was held "a general meeting of Men Friends out of many counties, concerning the affairs of the church, both

* I suppose Burton, or Monk Bretton.

in this nation and beyond the seas." Although we read of general and yearly meetings before this, and at other places, it does not appear that they were, like this, meetings for discipline, so that the original yearly meeting, of which that now held is a continuation, was about this time established at Skipton, in Yorkshire. This meeting George Fox had recommended several years before, and it seems this was not the first that was held. Its objects were to collect the accounts of Friends' sufferings, to assist them in procuring redress; and to provide for the relief of the poor in the society, that they might not become burdensome to their parishes. At the first establishment of this meeting, sevéral Justices and officers came with an intention to break it up; but when they understood the nature of the business, and saw the books in which the transactions of the meeting were entered, they were much pleased; and commended Friends' practice. The poor also of the neighbourhood, sometimes to the number of two hundred, partook of the liberality of Friends, who gave to each of them a loaf of bread; "for we were taught," says this liberal minded minister of the gospel of Christ, "to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith."

When this meeting was finished, he went to Lancaster, visiting Friends in his way. From

Lancaster he went to Robert Widders's house, and to Arnside. Here was held a general meeting for the three counties of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, which was quiet and peaceable. Returning home with his friend Robert Widders, he went next day to Swarthmore; but had not been long there, before he was served with a warrant from Henry Porter, a Justice under King Charles. When George was apprehended, he was taken first to Ulverstone, where he was detained that night; and the next day was conveyed to Lancaster. He was treated with great rudeness and abuse, and the apprehension of him was considered a great acquisition. One of the constables said he did not think a thousand men could have taken him; and another man kneeled down and blessed God for his being apprehended. When he came to Lancaster, he was taken before Justice Porter, who it seems was a Major in the army, and a young inexperienced man. After some conversation, George Fox was committed to the common jail at Lancaster, where he was treated with great cruelty by the under-jailer, and by many others who came to see him.

Being now a close prisoner, he desired two of his friends to apply to the jailer, for a copy of his mittimus; which they were refused, but were permitted to peruse it; and, communicating the heads

of it to George Fox, he wrote a reply to it, exposing the falsity of such of the accusations brought against him, as contained any thing contrary to the peace of the nation. His friend Margaret Fell, who was now become a widow, also wrote an address to the Magistrates on the occasion; feeling particularly interested, as George was apprehended at her house. She also went to London, to speak to the King on the subject, where Justice Porter met her. He had been formerly a zealous man for the Parliament, but, like many others at that time, he changed his party as interest led him. Several of the courtiers, however, recognized him; and reminded him of his former conduct, in plundering their houses, and other acts of violence. He therefore hastened home, and manifested a dispotition to release his prisoner: but having, in the mittimus, unwisely, but probably with a design to ingratiate himself with the royal party, committed George a prisoner till he should be delivered by the King or Parliament; it was not in his power to release him. George was therefore continued a prisoner at Lancaster for a considerable time longer. During his confinement, Ann Curtis, of Reading, in Berkshire, came to visit him. Her father being having been a warm Royalist, was executed near his own door, for attempting the King's restoration. On this account, she considered herself likely to have some

influence with Charles, and therefore, on her return, she united with Margaret Fell, in applying to him, on account of George Fox's imprisonment. When the King knew whose daughter Ann Curtis was, he received her kindly; and promised to send for George Fox to London, and hear the cause himself; and an Habeas Corpus was soon after obtained for the purpose of bringing him; but some legal difficulties being thrown in the way by those who had to execute the writ, and wished to detain him in prison, it was delayed for some time. During this interval, George was not unemployed, but wrote several papers or epistles, one of which was addressed to the King; and as it shows the honest simplicity of his manner of addressing those in authority, as well as his religious zeal against all violence and vice, I shall give a copy of it.

To the KING.

"KING CHARLES,

"Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord. Now if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. If the Lord hath shown thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgive, God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou dost not stop persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution; but if thou persist

in them and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that have gone before thee: for persecution hath always blinded those who have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, maygames, with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished; as the setting of maypoles, with the image of the crown atop of them, &c.; the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them; and so he will you, if those things be not suppressed. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before, as there is at this day, as though there was no terror nor sword of magistracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. Hear and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power: be merciful and forgive; that is the way to obtain the kingdom of Christ.

"G. F."

Thus did this suffering christian plead the cause of God and man; and whilst he recommended the

promotion of religion and virtue, he endeavoured to induce the King to a lenient conduct towards those, who had not only been his own and his father's enemies; but from whom George Fox and his Friends had suffered much persecution.

The principal difficulty which at last obstructed his removal to London, was the fear of the expense, which the Sheriff wished to impose upon his prisoner; with whom he first proposed to send a party of horse, and afterwards the jailer and some bailiffs. But finding that he could not bring George Fox to his terms, the Sheriff at length agreed to let him go without any guard, taking his own time and way, and to have a Friend or two of his own with him; he giving expectation that he would be in London on a certain day of the term, and appear before the Judges. Being now liberated, he went first to Swarthmore to recruit himself; and after resting there two or three days, he took his journey to London; Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Widders being his companions. They travelled through Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, &c. and in about three weeks reached London. The morning after their arrival, they went to the chambers of Judge Mallett, who was then preparing himself for trying some of the King's Judges; several of whom had already suffered. The Judge proposed

their coming another time, with which they complied, and found Chief Justice Foster with him. Esquire Marsh, one of the King's Bed Chamber, accompanied George, who, on his admission, delivered the charge against himself; and when the Judges read that part, which charged him and his Friends with imbroiling the nation in blood, they were so astonished, that they struck their hands on the table. George Fox then informed them that he was the man against whom the charge was made. After some time, they sent for the Marshal of the King's Bench, and desired him to secure the prisoner; but not to put him among the other prisoners. The Marshal, however, having no room at liberty, the prison being then unusually full, the Judges concluded to leave him to provide for himself; he engaging to appear, about ten o'clock the next morning, at the King's Bench, in Westminster-Hall, with only this reserve, "If the Lord give me strength." It seems George Fox was not a stranger to Judge Foster, for he said to the other Judge, "If he (George) says yes, and promises it, you may take his word."

The next day, at the hour appointed, accompanied by his two friends and Esquire Marsh, he presented himself at the Court of King's Bench, and being brought into the midst of it, he

addressed the Court in this manner: "Peace be among you." The charge was then read; and when they came to that part, which charged him and his friends with imbroiling the nation in blood, he stretched out his arms and said, "I am the man whom that charge is against;" and proceeding, he showed the utter improbability of its truth, from his being permitted to come from Lancaster without any guard, or even giving bail for his appearance. The Judges and the people behaved with moderation and kindness, seeing the case in its proper light; but there seemed some difficulty in bringing the matter to a regular conclusion. Esquire Marsh told the Court, that it was the King's pleasure that George Fox should be set at liberty, as no accuser appeared against him. He was then asked whether he would put it to the King and Council, to which he answered, "Yes, with a good will." The consequence of this was, that he was soon liberated, without a personal appearance before the King, after having been a prisoner about twenty weeks. He was advised, by some persons in authority, to take the advantage of the law against Justice Porter and others, who committed him; and the Justice indeed was much afraid of it; but George, with his wonted liberality, declined the proposal, leaving them to the Lord, and not troubling himself with them.

CHAP. XIII.

1660-2—*Short Cessation of Persecution—Renewed on account of the Conduct of the Fifth Monarchy Men—George Fox, in London, is taken up and liberated—Exerts himself for his suffering Friends here, and in New England and Malta—Goes to Bristol—Returns to London—Travels Northward—Is imprisoned in Leicestershire, and liberated—Returns to London—Visits the Eastern Counties, and comes again to London.*

GEORGE FOX and his Friends had now a short relaxation from suffering. The King commenced his reign, with an intention of granting full liberty of conscience, consistently with a declaration which he made at Breda, previously to his return. About seven hundred Friends, who were imprisoned for their religious principles, were now set at liberty; and the face of things was very different, with respect to religious toleration; but a circumstance occurred at this juncture, which materially changed the scene. About this time, the wicked insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy-men broke out, by which a great commotion was excited in the whole nation.* All dissenters, it

* The Fifth Monarchy Men were a set who arose in the time of Cromwell, expecting Christ's sudden appearance upon earth, to establish a new kingdom; and acting in consequence of this illusion, aimed at the subversion of all human government.

seems, were involved in suspicion, and their meetings attempted to be suppressed. The insurrection of these deluded men took place whilst Geo. Fox was in London; and he, fearing probably that his Friends would be suspected, having had large meetings the day before, went the next morning to Whitehall; and a number of his Friends came to him at a house in Pall-Mall, though it was then very dangerous to walk in the streets, the city being generally in arms. He continued in Pall Mall, till the First Day following, intending to be at meeting there that day; but the night before a party of soldiers come to arrest him, and would have executed their purpose, had they not been prevented by Esquire Marsh, who, out of his regard for George Fox, slept in the house to protect him. It was, however, agreed that he should be ready in the morning, when the soldiers were to return for him; but before they came, another party had taken him away to Whitehall. The soldiers and people were very rude in their behaviour to him; yet this did not prevent George from endeavouring to turn them from the evil of their ways, and preaching the truth to them. Some persons in authority coming by at this time, ordered him to be put into a place of close confinement; but he did not continue long there, his kind friend Marsh having spoken to Lord Gerrard on his behalf; who ordered George Fox to be set at liberty.

He now exerted himself as much as possible to assist his Friends in their distress, and with some others drew up a paper, disclaiming all concern in plots and fighting; but such was the violence of the times, that it was seized and suppressed whilst it was printing. George, however, with his usual intrepidity, never flinched from danger when likely to be useful; but went about the city, in this perilous time, visiting his Friends and encouraging them under their sufferings. He also wrote a consolatory epistle to those whom he could not personally visit; and the former declaration against plots and fighting being lost, whilst in the press, another was drawn up and printed, copies of which were sent to the King and Council, and others sold in the streets of London and elsewhere. It was presented to the King on the 21st of 11th month, 1660, and seems to have been of considerable service. Whilst George Fox was thus engaged, Margaret Fell and Thomas Moor, with some other Friends, applied to the King personally, who, after much importunity, issued a declaration that Friends should he set at liberty, without paying fees. Many thousands were in prison, in consequence of the rising of the Fifth Monarchy-men, which threw suspicion on all who were not manifestly of the Royal party. Partly from fear, and partly from revenge, much blood was shed this year, on various accounts. "This," says George

Fox, "was sad work, destroying people contrary to the nature of Christians, who have the nature of sheep and lambs. But there was a secret hand in bringing this day upon that hypocritical generation of professors, who being got into power, grew proud, haughty and cruel beyond others, and persecuted the people of God without pity." Here he enlarges much on their faithless conduct, and relates many warnings which they received from different Friends, without the desired effect. He also gives the following instance of their intolerant spirit: At a time when some liberty was granted by the government, a priest of Plymouth, in great repute under the Commonwealth, prayed "that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation, to remove this cursed toleration." Nor was this a solitary instance, for several other priests prayed against it by the name of "the intolerable toleration." O tempora! O mores! O preces!* "Say not the former times were better than these."

In the year 1661, accounts were received in this nation, of the cruel persecution of Friends in New England, several of whom were put to death for their religion. At the time of their execution, George Fox was prisoner in Lancaster Castle,

*What times! What manners! What prayers!

where he had a sense of their sufferings, and felt as if the halter was put about his own neck. On receiving the account which confirmed these feelings, application was made to the King, by Friends here, on behalf of their suffering brethren in America; and a mandamus was readily granted, to put a stop to the cruelties exercised by the persecutors of New England. George Fox says they "were a people who fled out of Old England, from the persecution of the Bishops; but when they had got power into their hands, they so far exceeded the Bishops in severity and cruelty, that whereas the Bishops had made them pay twelve pence a Sunday, (so called,) for not coming to their worship here, they imposed a fine of five shillings a day, upon such as should not conform to their will-worship there; and spoiled the goods of Friends that could not pay it." The inconsistent and violent conduct of these great pretenders to religion, seems to have often kindled George Fox's honest indignation. Some of the New England magistrates coming over to England, he and other Friends took several opportunities of conversing with them; by which the magistrates were so alarmed, lest they should be prosecuted for murder, that they soon returned to New England. Some of the old Royalists were very desirous that Friends would prosecute them; but George Fox says, with his usual Christian spirit, "we told them

that we left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it."

The Episcopal Church being now restored, the Bishops and Clergy were earnest in the re-establishment of their form of worship; and not content with the liberty of worshipping God themselves, according to their own judgment, they endeavoured to obtain laws, in which they were too successful, to compel others to conform to the same. This induced George Fox to publish a paper on the nature and freedom of Christ's worship, and on the impropriety of using compulsory means to promote or establish it. He was also, about this time, engaged in verbal controversies with people of almost all religious professions. The Papists and Jesuits were then disposed to speak favourably of Friends, and endeavoured to ingratiate themselves into their favour; but George seems to have been soon sensible of their insincerity; and, in a discourse with them, laid open their errors and superstitions, so that they no longer manifested the same favourable disposition. His intuition into the characters of those with whom he conversed, and his uncommon integrity and firmness of mind, made him alike uninfluenced either by fear or favour; and gave him also such an honest, though not a haughty, independence of mind, as few men have possessed.

He now resided a considerable time in London; attending to various matters relating to the society, which he had been the means of establishing.—He took one journey into Essex, and had some very large meetings at Colchester. Near Coggeshall, a priest was convinced; and George had a meeting at his house. But about this time, the people's minds were so much inflamed with the conduct of the Fifth Monarchy-men, that religious meetings of dissenters, and particularly of Friends, were much disturbed. That people had fixed the year 1666 for Christ's personal appearance on earth; and expected that the Saints would, by the means of war, obtain the government. With these sentiments George Fox was so far from uniting, that he had, by a paper which he published, endeavoured to lay open their errors; but, when popular prejudice, especially if accompanied with the fear of personal injury, is once excited, it is not soon allayed; and many persons, at this time, suffered very innocently, on account of the conduct of these misguided religionists.

About this time, a circumstance occurred, on a subject which had caused considerable exercise to Friends. The legality of their marriages, though they had been conducted with great deliberation and solemnity, was sometimes disputed; and much uncertainty seems to have existed on the subject;

but George Fox relates a trial at the Assizes at Nottingham, this year, before Judge Archer, by which their legality was fully established; nor has it been, I believe, since that time, brought into dispute. This trial must have afforded great relief to the rising Society; and would, no doubt, excite grateful feelings in their minds.

The testimony which George Fox and his friends, considered it their duty to bear against swearing of all kinds, subjected them to the malicious administration of the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, by those who were unfavourably disposed towards them. Although their fidelity to the Government was not disputed, they being willing in the most solemn manner they consistently could, to declare their assent to the subjects of these oaths; yet their enemies often made use of this means, to subject them to great suffering. On this occasion, George Fox gave forth a short piece on oaths, in which he concisely states the argument in this manner: The world saith, "Kiss the book;" but the book saith, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry;" and the Son saith, "Swear not at all; but keep to yea and nay in all your communication; for what is more than this cometh of evil." Notwithstanding this clear and simple argument, not only the practice of swearing continued; but those who conscientiously declined it,

were subjected to great suffering, on this as well as other accounts. So numerous and grievous were these sufferings, that George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn, presented an account of them to the King; in which they state, that three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons of their Society, had been imprisoned during the Commonwealth, for their religious principles; thirty-two of whom had died, and seventy-three still remained in prison. They also stated that, since the King's restoration, three thousand and sixty-eight of their Friends, had been imprisoned, besides many other sufferings to which they were subjected. These things were strongly, but modestly, laid before the King; yet we have reason to believe with very little effect.

George Fox seems to have possessed great sensibility of mind, for the sufferings of others; and we may naturally suppose, those of his own Society would particularly engage his attention. In the year 1662, being informed of the imprisonment of Catharine Evans and Sarah Chevers, in the Inquisition on the Island of Malta, he applied to a Roman Catholic Nobleman, (Lord D'Aubigny) who promised to use his influence to obtain their release; and which he at length effected. With him, George had some very free and satisfactory religious conversation; and never heard a Papist confess so much as he did.

Having continued nearly two years in and about London, he again went into the country, taking Alexander Parker and John Stubbs with him. Visiting the meetings of Friends in their way, they came to Bristol, where persecution was very hot; but this was no discouragement to his intrepid spirit. He continued here about two weeks, and, on the latter first day, which he spent in that city, his friends, knowing of the resolution which the Magistrates had formed to take him, and that they had even raised the Trained Bands, used much persuasion to discourage him from attending the meeting. He desired them to go to it, without informing them of his own intention. However, he soon followed, and when he came to the meeting, a woman Friend (Margaret Thomas) was preaching. Soon after she had concluded, George stood up, which at first excited great fear and concern in the minds of his timid friends; but the power with which he spake soon removed their fear; and to use his own words, "an heavenly glorious meeting we had." After preaching, he was engaged in supplication; and during these religious public engagements no interruption was given. The soldiers who were to have broken up this meeting, had been engaged elsewhere; and when they came here, the meeting was separated. At the conclusion of the meeting, George, with that pious reference to a Divine Providence which he constantly manifested, told his friends, "that now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver." "It was indeed," he says, "the immediate power of the Lord that preserved me out of their hands at Bristol, and over the heads of all our persecutors; and the Lord alone is worthy of all the glory, who did uphold and preserve for his name and truth's sake."

Leaving Bristol, he came through Wiltshire and Berkshire to London, having large meetings in his way, respecting which he says: "The Lord's power was over all, and a blessed time it was for the spreading of his glorious truth." He did not continue long in London, but travelled northward, till he came into Leicestershire; having John Stubbs with him. At Swanington, he was arrested by Lord Beaumont and a company of soldiers, whilst in a Friend's house; and nothing sufficient appearing, on which to ground a commitment, the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were tendered; for the refusal of which, and because they "were to have had a meeting," he committed several persons to Leicester jail. It was, however, very difficult to find any one to convey them there, it being harvest time, and the people disliking the employment, of taking their innocent and respectable neighbours to prison.

One man was with some difficulty hired, who conveyed them to Leicester, where they were first taken to an inn, the occupier of which, being a Magistrate, kindly interested himself to prevent their going to jail; but several Friends being there already, George Fox and his company preferred their society, to remaining in confinement elsewhere. The Jailer was a man of an unkind disposition, and had treated the Friends there with great cruelty; particularly in their meetings which they held in the prison; on which occasions, if any of them were engaged in public prayer, he would come among them with his staff, and beat and abuse them; but a mastiff dog which accompanied him, and which possessed more humanity than his master, would frequently seize his staff and take it from him, when he was using it in this unchristian manner. Notwithstanding this violent disposition in the Jailer, George Fox held meetings every first day in the prison yard; to which the prisoners of all descriptions were invited, and several others attended. "Some," he observes, "received the Lord's truth there, who stood faithful witnesses for it ever since."

When the time of the Quarter Sessions came on, George Fox, and about twenty other Friends, were brought into court, where the oaths were again tendered to ensnare them. After some time

they were put upon their trial, and the Jury found them guilty, on a mittimus which did not charge them with the breach of any laws, but that "they were to have a meeting." The administration of law and equity, was indeed still mixed with violence and oppression; party spirit, in these troublesome times, greatly prevailing in those courts, which ought to have administered justice to the people, and to have softened the temper of the times. Though the prisoners were found guilty, and remanded to jail; yet the Court, sensible, it seems, of the impropriety of the mittimus, or from some other cause, sent the Jailer with a message which he delivered in these civil terms: "Gentlemen, it is the Court's pleasure that ye should be set at liberty, except those that are in for tithes: and you know there are fees due to me; but I shall leave it to you to give me what you will."

George Fox and his friends being now liberated, he returned to Swanington, from which place he was committed; and went to Lord Beaumont, with a letter he had received from Lord Hastings, written in London, addressed to the Justices of the Session. This letter George did not think proper to deliver to them, though intended to procure his liberty. Beaumont, however, still threatened, that if he and his friends had any more meetings at Swanington, he would break them up, and send

the Friends again to prison; which, however, he did not put in execution, though George, notwithstanding his threats, had a meeting at that time with his friends at this place.

He now passed through the counties of Warwick, Northampton, and Bedford, to London, where he staid but a short time; and went into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire; returning by Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire to London. Of this journey he observes, "The Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits, and through many dangers; and his truth spread and grew, and Friends were established therein; praises and glory to his name for ever!"

CHAP. XIV.

1662-3—Visits Friends in the City—Travels into Kent, Sussex, &c. to Cornwall—Returns through Devon, Bristol, &c. to Wales—Thence into the Northern Counties as far as Northumberland and Cumberland—Comes to Swarthmore—Is committed to Lancaster Jail—Undergoes a long and cruel Imprisonment there and at Scarborough.

GEORGE FOX now continued in London a short time, visiting the meetings of his friends, "which were very large, and the Lord's power was over all." He and Thomas Briggs, leaving the city, travelled into Kent, and had meetings at Ashford, Cranbrook, and Tenterden. At the last place they were arrested by an officer with a party of soldiers, and examined by him, the Mayor of the place, and a Lieutenant; all of whom were Justices of the Peace. After a long examination, in which George Fox had an opportunity of explaining various matters, and of giving them some religious advice, they, being sensible of his and his friend's innocence, at length, liberated them in a handsome manner, which he as handsomely acknowledged, telling them their civility was noble.

From Tenterden, George and his companion went to Newick, in Sussex, and had several large meetings in that county and Hampshire. After having a good meeting at Southampton, they went to Pulmer, or Pulner, in the parish of Ringwood; where a monthly meeting was to be held the next day. The report of this meeting and of George Fox attending, seems to have spread and caused some alarm; so that the Trained Bands, a sort of local militia, I suppose, were raised to break it up. Coming to the place, a considerable time before the meeting, they did not wait till it commenced; but taking some Friends with them, whom they found in the house or met on the way, they departed. The meeting, which was very large, was held without any disturbance, and with much satisfaction. The Magistrates being informed, that notwithstanding their attempts to prevent it, the meeting was held, sent the soldiers a second time, but too late; for it was then over, and Friends gone; by which the persecuting Magistrates and Officers were much disappointed and enraged. After this meeting, George Fox and his companion, rode about twenty miles "to one Frye's in Wiltshire," where they had a quiet and good meeting the next day. Here again it was intended to break up the meeting; but those who were to have done so were called off by a house being broken into in the neighbourhood. Thus

these adversaries were disappointed of their malicious designs. Indeed, Providence seemed to interfere various ways between Friends and their persecutors; and particularly by bringing them to a sense of the impropriety of their severe conduct, when under bodily affliction. Of this, George Fox here relates an instance in a constable, who, being in a very afflicted state of body and mind, wished "he had never meddled with the Quakers; confessing that he never prospered since he had a hand in persecuting them, and that he thought the hand of the Lord was against him for it."

In 1663, passing through Wiltshire, George Fox and Thomas Briggs came into Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall; having many large and good meetings. At Topsham, they met with Margaret Fell and two of her daughters, also Leonard Fell, and Thomas Salthouse, all from Lancashire; and having been heretofore intimately acquainted, the meeting must have been mutually pleasant.

After finishing their gospel labours in Cornwall, they came through part of Devonshire into Somersetshire, in which county two general meetings were held, which were very large, peaceable, and satisfactory; as were other meetings in those parts. They now came to Bristol, whence, after having some religious service, they went to Slattenford, in Wiltshire, where they had a very large

meeting in a barn: "The truth, as it is in Jesus, was published; and many were gathered by it into the name of the Lord."

George Fox now travelled through various counties in England, and part of Wales, till he came to York, "having many meetings in the way; and the Lord's everlasting power was over all." Leaving York he went to Boroughbridge, where he had a very satisfactory meeting. Passing through the county of Durham, he came into Westmoreland, and afterwards to Swarthmore; where he continued but a short time. He had meetings at several places in these parts, where he had laboured much and with great success, a few years before; after which he went by Strickland-head, where he had a large meeting on a common, into Northumberland. At Derwent-Water, in this county, he was accosted by an ancient woman, with a message of love from her husband, whom George, it seems, had formerly designated by the name of "the tall white old man." He was now one hundred and twenty two years of age, and would have come to the meeting, had not his horses been engaged. He lived several years after this time.

Having visited Friends in Northumberland, he came to "old Thomas Bewlay's, in Cumberland,"

where he had "a large and precious meeting;" though persecution was very prevalent in these parts, and the deputy governor of Carlisle, (Musgrave,) appears to have been a great promoter of it. George Fox however met with no disturbance, but had large and quiet meetings at several places, particularly at Wigton and Pardshaw-Crag. From these parts he went by Keswick into Westmoreland, and, on his entering that county, was informed that Justice Fleming had offered five pounds for his apprehension. He was now at his friend Francis Benson's house, who lived near this Justice; but though met by a man to whom the offer had been made, and who knew George Fox, he passed through this part of the country without any interruption, and came again to Swarthmore; where Colonel Kirby had sent to search for him. The next day George went to his house, where he found the Flemings on a visit to the Colonel, who was then about leaving home to attend the Parliament in London. George had much conversation with them, after which they parted in a friendly manner, the Colonel telling him that he had nothing against him; and others of the company said that he was a deserving man.

He now returned to his kind friends, at Swarthmore, where he heard of a private meet-

ing at a Justice's house, at which a warrant was granted to apprehend him; the operation of which he not only had time to escape, but his mind was also at liberty from any religious service in those parts. However, he apprehended that his withdrawing himself, might cause the suffering to fall heavier upon his Friends. There appears to have been a plot, at this time, formed in the North of England against the King; and George, it seems, feared that his departure, might give occasion for suspicion of some concern in this plot. He therefore waited the execution of the warrant; and an officer came with a sword and pistols to apprehend him, with whom, after some conversation, he went to Houlker Hall, the seat of Justice Preston, at whose house the warrant was issued; his friend Margaret Fell accompanying him. Here a number of Justices and others were collected, before whom he underwent a long examination; the result of which was, the tendering to him the oath of allegiance. This was the common snare for George Fox and his Friends, when their enemies could not fix the breach of any law upon them. Like the sacrament to the Reformers from Popery, the oath became a kind of test of the religious principles of our early Friends; and was made a snare in which their adversaries endeavoured to entrap them; and by this means to bring them under confinement, and perhaps other punishment. On George Fox's refusal to take the oath, it was at first intended to send him to Lancaster jail; but he was afterwards dismissed, on his engaging to appear at the succeeding Sessions there, which he accordingly did. The Justices on the Bench, were Fleming, Spencer, West, and Rawlinson. After some parley about his hat, he was examined respecting the plot already mentioned. Of this plot George was not only innocent, but having heard of it by a Friend, who received his information from the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, he wrote a paper of advice on the subject, to his Friends, to keep clear of all such things; a copy of which he also sent to several Magistrates, and even to the King. The Justices finding nothing on which to criminate him, tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and after much discourse on the subject of swearing, they committed him to prison. This was in the year 1663, and he continued a prisoner here till 1665, several of his Friends being also in prison, for various matters connected with their religious principles. During this long confinement, he underwent several examinations at the Assizes, and, simply for his refusing to take an oath, consistently with the express command of Christ, he was continued in prison the time mentioned. In his examinations he dearly stated, that those things mentioned in the oath, as plotting against the King, or owning the Pope's supremacy, or

that of any other foreign power, he utterly denied; but he could not consistently make this declaration in the form of an oath. At the second Assizes an indictment was preferred against him for this only offence, on which the Jury brought him in guilty; but being brought up next day to receive sentence, he pointed out so many errors and false statements in the indictment, that the Judge was obliged, though reluctantly, to liberate him. The Judge's disappointment was, however, so great, that he again tendered the oaths, which produced a long conversation, in which George Fox stated his religious scruples in this manner: "Ye have given me a book here to kiss; but the book says, Kiss the Son, and the Son says in this book, Swear not at all. I say as the book says, yet ye imprison me. How comes it that the book is at liberty amongst you which bids me not swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me." This simple explanation, with the declaration already mentioned, would have induced a just judge, to have availed himself of the legal opportunity which was put into his hands, to liberate so conscientious a prisoner: but such was the prejudice excited in the minds of many persons, that neither gospel, law, nor equity, were regarded in their proceedings. George Fox was again put to trial on the Judge's commitment, and when the indictment was read in court, the Judge

said to the clerk, "Take heed it be not false again:" so conscious was he of the falsity of the former, with respect to dates, &c. After George had heard the indictment read, he requested time to consider of it. On this some further discourse on the subject of swearing ensued, in which he expressly declared, that if he could take any oath, he should take that then offered; but that he had never taken an oath in his life. He also stated to the Judge, that both the early Christians and the Reformers from Popery, refused to swear, in obedience to Christ's command; with other observations, by which the Judge's mind appears to have been so much moderated, that he said he wished the laws were otherwise.

The Judge complying with George Fox's request for time to consider of his indictment, left him a prisoner till the next Assizes. He had already suffered much during this confinement at Lancaster, by the uncomfortable state of his prison; and though some melioration seems to have now been intended to take place, he was confined during the interval of the Assizes, which included the winter of 1664, in a tower, in which he was greatly incommoded, and sometimes almost smothered by the smoke, which came from the prisoners confined under him. In addition to this, the roof of his apartment was in such a

state, as to expose his bed to the wind and rain; and his cloaths and body were often extremely wet, with endeavouring to stop the apertures by which the rain entered his miserable habitation. All this time, he seems to have been deprived of the benefit of the society of his Friends; for so inveterate was the malice of one of the Justices, that he charged the jailer "to keep his prisoner close, and to suffer no flesh alive to come at him." By this confinement George Fox's health was much injured; his body was swelled, and his limbs benumbed: but his mind seems to have retained its confidence in divine sufficiency; which he commemorates in these words: "The Lord's power was over all, supported me through all; and enabled me to do service for him, and for his truth and people."

Another Assizes came on, and George Fox was again brought into court. He had already examined his indictment, and had found several errors and omissions in it. "Surely," says he, "the hand of the Lord was in it, to confound their mischievous work against me, and to blind them therein; insomuch that although the indictment was drawn at the former Assize, the Judge examined it himself, and tried it with the clerks; yet the word subject was left out of this indictment also; the day of the month was put in wrong, and

several material words of the oath were left out; yet they went on confidently, thinking all was safe and well." When George Fox was put on his trial, he began again to show the errors of the indictment; but although the Judge perceived he was right, yet, instead of liberating him, he ordered the jailer to take him away to prison; and notwithstanding the absence of the prisoner, the trial proceeded, the jury brought in their verdict, guilty, and it appears that the Court recorded him as a premunired person; though he was never brought to receive his sentence, nor was regularly informed of it. Such was the legality, or rather illegality of the Judges of those days. But we may perhaps find some excuse for their conduct, in the unsettled state of the times; the violence of many of the King's enemies; and the apprehension of plots against his life or government. Yet, however we may be disposed to excuse, nothing can justify the illegal and unjust conduct of Judges, towards this innocent sufferer.

George Fox was now left for imprisonment, without any prospect of its termination; but the Justices who had been instrumental in his commitment, and had promoted the severe treatment he had received whilst in jail, began to be ashamed of their conduct: which he had frequently exposed at the Assizes, and other times. They therefore

obtained liberty from the King and Council, to remove him from Lancaster about six weeks after the Assizes; but when he was taken out of his uncomfortable prison, he was so weak, that he was scarcely able either to walk or stand. Notwithstanding his great infirmity, he was forced on horseback, and treated with as much cruelty on his removal, as he had been during his confinement. The first stage at which they stopped was Bentham, where he was so much fatigued, that the soldiers who guarded him, permitted him to rest himself on a bed. That night they came to Giggleswick, and in two days more to York, not knowing all this time whither he was going; nor was he permitted, before he left Lancaster, to see the order for his removal: all was executed *vi et armis*. At York he continued two days, and received some civil treatment, particularly from Lord Frecheville, who commanded a troop of horse, and kindly visited him in his prison; the soldiers also were generally tender towards him. Here orders were given to take him to Scarborough Castle. Stopping at Malton, his Friends were permitted to visit him, and his guard conducted themselves with great civility and kindness. They reached Scarborough that night; and the next day he was conveyed to the Castle.

It was not till his removal from Lancaster to Scarborough, that George Fox understood he was

under the sentence of a premunire; a punishment by which a person is put out of the King's protection, his property, real and personal, is forfeited to the King, and he is to remain a prisoner during the King's pleasure. This severe sentence had been passed upon him without calling him into Court to receive it; and consequently without giving him an opportunity to plead against it, either personally, or by counsel. It was upon this sentence that his violent removal from Lancaster to Scarborough, without showing any legal authority, was supported; and, which might probably be considered some excuse, for the subsequent cruel treatment he received whilst a prisoner there.

During the first part of his confinement at Scarborough, he was placed in a room with a centry to guard him; and being, from his hard treatment, very weak, and subject to fainting, he was permitted to walk out into the yard and take the air, but this reasonable indulgence did not last long; for he was soon after confined in a room which did not secure him from the rain; where he was also incommoded with smoke. When he had been at some expence and pains to make this place more comfortable, his cruel keepers removed him into a worse, in which was no chimney; and being open towards the sea, the rain frequently fell upon his bed, and ran

about the room; and when he was thus circumstanced with wet and cold, he could have no fire to warm him. The consequence of such treatment was, as may be supposed, very injurious to his already weakened frame; so that his sufferings became very great; and, in this distressing situation, he was not permitted to have the assistance which his friends would have willingly afforded; they being very rarely permitted to visit him, whilst others were frequently introduced to gaze at, and insult him. The soldiers who were garrisoned in the Castle, were also very unkind; and would sometimes contrive to deprive him of the small and poor provisions which he had. A threepenny loaf generally served him about three weeks; and his drink was principally water, with wormwood steeped in it. This severe treatment he did not fail to represent to the keepers of the Castle, and contrasted their conduct with that of the Heathens, among whom the Apostle Paul was a prisoner at Rome, to whom it appears his friends had free access. Indeed the treatment which the Apostle received from the Heathens, was, in every respect, more consistent with Christianity, than its persecuting professors afforded to those who differed from them.

Although George Fox's friends, many of whom came a considerable distance to visit him, were denied that privilege; yet other people seem to

have had free access, and he had frequent disputes on religious subjects with his visitors of different religious opinions; as Papists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. In these disputes, he manifested that notwithstanding his great bodily weakness, his mental powers retained their wonted vigour; which he still exercised in support of those gospel truths, in which he most surely believed. But it was not by argument alone that he promoted his religious sentiments. His peaceable principle manifested itself in a peculiar manner, in the instance of one of his fellow-prisoners challenging him to fight. George perceiving him in a state of intoxication, got out of his way; but the next day, when the man was sober, he came to him and remonstrated with him on his unmanly conduct, in challenging a man to fight, whose principle he knew would not permit him to strike another; but seeing he had challenged him, he was now come to answer him with his hands in his pockets; and reaching his head towards him, said, "Here is my hair, here are my cheeks, here is my back." The man was so overcome with this address, that he ran away, whilst the soldiers laughed at him. One of the officers was so well affected with the sight, that he said to George Fox, "You are a happy man, that can bear such things."

After he had been confined sometime in Scarborough Castle, the Governor, it appears, came

under disgrace; which produced a little fellow-feeling for his innocent prisoner, whom he afterwards treated with more lenity; and having occasion to go to London, George desired him to speak to his old friend, Esquire Marsh, and some others; and inform them of the particulars of his confinement. When the Governor returned, he told him that Marsh said, "He would go a hundred miles barefoot to obtain George Fox's liberty." Several other persons in London also spake favourably of him, which increased the Governor's disposition of kindness towards him.

The King being now the only person who could liberate him from his confinement, he was applied to, by letter, in which George gave the King an account of his imprisonment, and the hard usage which he had received. After this, John Whitehead, being in London, applied to Esquire Marsh, who kindly undertook the business; and a statement of George Fox's suffering case being put into his hands, he delivered it to the Master of Requests, Sir John Birkenhead, who obtained an order from the King for George Fox's release. This his friend John Whitehead brought to Scarborough, and delivered it to the Governor, Jordan Crosslands, who readily put it in execution, and, without requiring any bail, gave his prisoner a passport, dated the first day of September, 1666.

The Governor, who during the first part of his prisoner's confinement, had treated him harshly, was so softened in his disposition, that when the Magistrates of the town sent for soldiers to break up Friends' meetings, he gave his men a secret order not to meddle with them; nor would he receive a present, which George Fox offered him, for the civility and kindness which he had latterly manifested. The soldiers and their officers were also greatly changed, and became very respectful in their conduct. Their character of him was, "He is as stiff as a tree, and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him."

CHAP. XV.

1666 to 1669—Remarks on George Fox's Imprisonment and Oaths—After his Release, hears of the Fire in London—Travels in divers Parts of Yorkshire, and through the Counties of Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, &c. to London—Visits the Ruins there—Goes to Bristol, and returns to London—Establishes Meetings for Discipline in London and most Parts of the Nation—Also promotes Schools—Visits Esquire Marsh in London—Disputes with a Papist—Goes into Surrey and Sussex—Turns into Warwickshire—Passes through Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, &c. to Liverpool—Sails for Ireland, and visits Friends there.

WE are now come to the conclusion of a long and cruel imprisonment. It continued about three years, above one of which was at Scarborough, and the rest of the time at Lancaster. The fortitude and meekness with which it was endured, was consistent with the character of a Christian, suffering for a compliance with his Master's positive command; a command which, however it may be attempted, no sophistry has been able to invalidate. And it is a sorrowful reflection, that, in a christian country, a compliance with so unequivocal an injunction of our common Lord, as that of "Swear not at all," supported as it is by one of his Apostles, should have ever subjected those who acted in obedience to it, to such suffer-

ings, as would have disgraced the character of Heathens. But though sufferings on this occasion, have now ceased, it is still desirable that so direct a violation of this divine injunction, should be removed from the legal code of all nations, professing the Christian name; in some of which, at least, it may be said as formerly, "Because of swearing (both legal and profane) the land mourneth."

The day after George Fox's release from Scarborough Castle, the great fire broke out in London. Some Friends had not only foreseen it, but forewarned the people of it, or some similar calamity. One Friend, in particular, George mentions, who was concerned to go through the streets of London, a short time before the fire, scattering his money up and down, having the knees of his breeches untied, his stockings down, and his doublet unbuttoned; at the same time telling the people, "So should they run up and down, scattering their money and goods, half undressed like mad people, as he was a sign to them;" all which was very soon fulfilled.*

George Fox being now at liberty, staid a few days at Scarborough and its neighbourhood, hav-

* See Sewell's History of the Quakers, for further particulars relating to this circumstance. Anno 1666.

ing meetings among his Friends and others. From Scarborough he went to Whitby, and then turned to Burlington and into Holderness. At Marmaduke Storr's, who probably lived at or near Owstwick, he attended a marriage of two of his Friends; on which occasion there was a very large meeting, in which he explained various matters on the subject of matrimony, and on the duties of the married state. This is the first marriage which he mentions attending among his own Friends.

Whilst in Holderness, George visited a Priest, who, when he was in that country, in the year 1651, had threatened, If ever he met with George Fox again, he would have his life, unless prevented by George killing him. This man was now very loving and kind, and his wife had become a Friend. Various circumstances of this kind he met with in his travels; many persons who had been violent against him, having become much softened in their minds, and others even joined in society with him. Such are frequently the effects of faithful labour and patient suffering in the cause of truth and righteousness; verifying the truth of the observation: "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

Leaving Holderness, he came by Malton, Hull, and Howden, to York. Here he had a large

meeting, and visited Justice Robinson, now an ancient man, who, at Pickering, had formerly shown much kindness to him; and on various occasions had manifested a favourable disposition to Friends; which his successors for several generations have continued to evince. From York, George Fox passed through the South-West part of the County, till he came to Synderhill-Green, on the borders of Derbyshire, where he had formerly had some large meetings, at which many had been convinced of the rectitude of the doctrine which he preached. Here he again had a large and satisfactory meeting; but narrowly escaped being arrested, a warrant being issued at the instigation of the Priest of the place. The constables, however, were too late for the meeting, and thus missed of their object. He now passed into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, having meetings at Skegby and Mansfield; after which he came to Nottingham, where he had a large and quiet meeting. Of the Society here he makes this observation: "Friends were brought to sit under their teacher, the grace of God, which brought them salvation; and were established upon the rock and foundation, Christ Jesus." Here he visited John Reckless, who was now a Friend, but had been Sheriff of the County, and whose prisoner he had been in the year 1649.

Hence George Fox passed towards London, through Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Northamp-

tonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire. In Leicestershire, as usual, he visited his relations. He had many large and precious meetings in those counties; but travelling he found very difficult and painful, from the great stiffness in his limbs, and other infirmities, occasioned by his long and severe imprisonments. He could not even bear to be near the fire, nor to eat warm meat, which he imputes to having been kept so long from them. When he came to London, he visited the ruins occasioned by the fire; on which he observes, "I saw the city lying, according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it, several years before."

Notwithstanding his great bodily weakness, he left London and travelled as far as Bristol, having large meetings at various places, both going and returning. About this time, and in the course of this journey, he had the satisfaction of seeing many, who had been drawn aside by John Perrot and others, convinced of their error, and condemning their conduct.*

* John Perrot thought himself more enlightened than George Fox, and objected to Friends uncovering their heads, whilst a Minister was engaged in prayer; in which notion many joined him. Afterwards he let his beard grow, in which some also united him; but, at length, going to America, he wore a sword, and, getting a place in the Government, he became a severe enacter of oaths; and wholly abandoned principles for which he had once endured persecution.

George Fox now seeing his Friends generally established in sound Christian doctrine and practice; became concerned for their preservation therein; and that the reputation of the new society, might be preserved from those reflections to which it might become subject, from those whose conduct should be disorderly, or in other respects inconsistent with their religious profession. For this purpose, and also that the poor might be properly provided for, he recommended the establishment of Meetings for discipline. Quarterly Meetings of this kind had, it seems, been already held in some places;† but these took in too large a district, and were not held sufficiently frequent for the purposes designed. He therefore proposed the holding of meetings monthly, of which five were now established in the city of London. These meetings were soon extended generally over the nation, still retaining the quarterly meetings, in which several monthly meetings united, and exercised a religious care over each other. These quarterly meetings afterwards united and formed a yearly meeting, which is held in London, and may be considered like the legislative body; besides attending to other

† In the North of England, some meetings for discipline were settled as early as the year 1652.

matters connected with the general interests of the society. As the female sex can, in many cases, best attend to their own concerns, women's meetings were also recommended by this wise, vigilant, and liberal promoter of the welfare of the society, which he had been instrumental in establishing; and the adoption of them has been found extremely beneficial to their own sex, and very relieving to their brethren. It is remarkable that the system of discipline recommended by George Fox in the year 1666, and about that time generally established in the society, both in this and other nations, has undergone very little, if any, alteration since that time; having been found equal to all the circumstances which have occurred, in the course of about one hundred and fifty years. Such was the wisdom, I believe more than human wisdom, with which it was planned, that though many attempts have been made to subvert it, by weak, or worse than weak members, it may be now considered as having surmounted all opposition, and being likely to continue as long as the Society exists, for whose benefit it was formed.

After the establishment of the five monthly meetings in London, George Fox travelled into Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and many other counties, till he came into Wales and Lancashire. In this journey, his principal concern appears to have

been, the establishment of meetings for discipline, in which he met with some opposition, in a few places. He also wrote to his Friends in some of the more northern counties, and Scotland, recommending the practice he was concerned to promote; and his advice, it appears, was generally complied with. In this journey he travelled in great bodily weakness and pain, being scarcely able to mount or dismount his horse; but "my spirit," he says, "being earnestly engaged in the work the Lord had concerned me in, and sent me forth about, I travelled on therein, notwithstanding the weakness of my body, having confidence in the Lord, that he would carry me through, as he did by his power."

In the course of this journey, though a persecuting spirit was frequently manifested, by Magistrates and others, yet he met with no material interruption in his travels. At Shrewsbury, the Mayor hearing of his being there, collected the officers to consult what to do against him, saying, "the great Quaker of England is come to town;" but when they were met together, they were so divided among themselves, as not to be able to effect their purpose. Several other deliverances he experienced in this journey. Returning by Bristol, where meetings for discipline were also established, he came again to London. His prin-

cipal concern here, at this time, appears to have been, to make proper regulations respecting the society's proceedings in marriage. These regulations were, "that marriages should be laid before the men's monthly or quarterly meetings; that Friends might see, that the relations of those that proceeded in marriage, were satisfied; and that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children, before they married again; that so all things might be kept clean and pure, and done in righteousness to the glory of God."

Having now procured the establishment of a salutary discipline, in many parts of the Society, his next concern appears to have been the promotion of a suitable education for the youth. Leaving London for a short time, he went into Hertfordshire, where, after visiting his friends, and establishing several monthly meetings, he, on his return towards London, recommended the establishment of a school at Waltham, for the education of boys; and another at Shacklewell, for instructing girls and young women, "in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation." These are his own words, which bespeak an enlargement of mind and views, beyond the inferior and most common branches of education. This was in the year 1667.

After a short residence in London, he travelled in 1668 toward South Wales, returning by the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, to London. His principal concern, in this journey, appears to have been the establishment of monthly meetings for discipline, in those parts which he had not already visited for that purpose. About this time he wrote to his Friends in Ireland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several parts of America, recommending the same practice, which was, no doubt, generally adopted. "Since these meetings were settled," he observes, "many mouths have been opened in thanksgiving and praise, and many have blessed the Lord that he sent me forth in this service; yea with tears have many praised him."

Whilst George Fox was in London, he paid a visit to his kind friend, Marsh, by whom he was received with much respect, and invited to dine with him; which however he declined. Here he had a controversy with a Roman Catholic, after which he took a private opportunity with Justice Marsh, to interest him in favour of his Friends, who suffered much from the oaths of allegiance and supremacy being often tendered to them. The Justice manifested his usual kindness, both towards George and the society; and seems to have exerted himself as much as was in his

power, to alleviate their sufferings. About this time I find an observation in these words; "We had great service in London; the Lord's truth came over all.—Many who had gone out came in again, confessing and condemning their outgoings."

Having finished his present service in the city, he visited Friends again in Surrey and Sussex; after which he travelled northward by Warwick, Birmingham, and Nottingham, into Yorkshire. At York he attended the quarterly meeting, in which seven monthly meetings were already established, and seven more were now added. The society, it appears, had greatly increased in this county, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of it; but since that time, it has been most numerous in the south-west parts. The Assizes being at the time of the quarterly meeting, at York, George Fox met with and visited his old friend Justice Hotham, of whose early tenderness and kindness to him, he appears to have been very feelingly sensible.

Leaving York, he travelled towards Whitby and Scarborough. At the latter place he was kindly invited by the governor, to visit him and his wife; which he accordingly accepted, and was very courteously received. Passing over the Wolds, and through Holderness, he turned into the western parts of the county, till he came to John Moor's,

at Eldreth, near Settle. Here he had a large and satisfactory meeting. Colonel Kirby, an old persecutor, who had threatened George Fox, and had offered forty pounds to any man who would take him, was now confined near this place with the gout, incapable of fulfilling his threats.

An exercise now came upon him to visit Friends in Ireland, where it appears the Society had been for several years established. Leaving Yorkshire, he passed through Staffordshire and Cheshire to Liverpool, where he, with Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs, took shipping for Ireland. Being at sea on the first day, George held a religious meeting with the passengers and sailors, and preached to them; which occasioned this remark from the master of the vessel: "Come, here are things that you never heard in your lives." On their landing in Ireland, and coming near to Dublin, George says, "The earth and air smelt, methought, with the corruption of the nation; so that it yielded another smell to me than England did, which I imputed to the Popish Massacres, that had been committed, and the blood that had been spilt in it, from which a foulness ascended." Such were the fine feelings of this tender-hearted Christian, on various occasions, where places had been marked with persecution and bloodshed.

On their arrival in Dublin, George Fox and his companions went to an inn, not being able at first to find any of their own Friends; but these soon found them, and received them with great joy. They made but a short stay in that city, going to a meeting for one of the provinces; after attending which, they proceeded towards Cork. At one place where they had a meeting, the Papists manifested much dissatisfaction; on which George sent them a challenge, "to try their God and their Christ, which they made of bread and wine." This not being accepted, he told them that they were worse than the Priests of Baal, who were willing to try their wooden God; but they were not willing to try theirs of bread and wine. He also told them, that Baal's priests did not eat their God, as they did, and then make another. These were simple and cogent truths; but it is to be feared made little or no impression on their benighted minds.

The Mayor of Cork appears to have been of a persecuting spirit. He issued four warrants against George Fox, and sent descriptions of him to places at a great distance, in order to have him imprisoned. Notwithstanding this, George rode into that city, and passed the Mayor's door, who saw and knew him, without being apprehended. Some other Magistrates also manifested the same

disposition as the Mayor of Cork; "yet," says he, "the Lord disappointed all their counsels, defeated all their designs against me; and by his good hand of Providence, preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends, and spread truth through that nation. Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted, in feeling the love of God. Oh the brokenness that was amongst them in the flowings of life! so that in the power and spirit of the Lord, many together broke out into singing with audible voices, making melody in their hearts."

After travelling over great part of Ireland, and being engaged in various controversies, as well as visiting the meetings of Friends, he returned to Dublin; where he attended their meeting o nthe first day of the week, which, he observes, was very large and precious. Here he took shipping for Liverpool, after parting with his Friends with much tender affection. His visit to that nation appears to have produced a very favourable opinion of Friends there, whom he describes as "a good, weighty and true people, sensible of the power of God, tender of his truth, and having good order in their meetings."

CHAP. XVI.

1669 to 1671.—Returns from Ireland.—Travels through Lancashire, Cheshire, &c. to Nailsworth, in Gloucestershire. Singular circumstance occurs there.—Goes to Bristol. Is married to Margaret Fell.—Passes through Wilts, Berks, Oxon, and Bucks, to London. Endeavours to obtain his wife's release from premunire. Sufferings in consequence of the Conventicle Act.—Travels into various Counties.—Suffers much in body and mind, on account of profaneness and persecution.—His prayer on that account.

ALL the Friends who accompanied George Fox to Ireland, except John Stubbs, returned with him, having probably been his companions whilst in that country. After a stormy passage, they landed at Liverpool, and proceeded through Lancashire, Cheshire, &c. into Gloucestershire. At Nailsworth in this county, he heard of a report that he was turned Presbyterian; and that a pulpit wss prepared for him in a yard in that place, where it was supposed a thousand people would attend the next day to hear him. This report arose from a person of the name of John Fox having appointed a meeting there, whose name was, it appears by design, changed to George Fox. A very large meeting was collected: but the people finding that they were imposed upon, many hundreds left the meeting, and came to one then collected by the real George Fox, very near the other. The people were sober and attentive, and some of them said, they liked George Fox the Quaker's preaching, better than George Fox the Presbyterian's. "Thus," he observes, "by my providential coming into these parts, at that time, this false report was discovered, and shame came over the contrivers of it."

From Nailsworth he went to Bristol, where he met with his friend Margaret Fell, who was there on a visit to one of her daughters. George had for some time past, entertained a prospect of marriage with Margaret; and had already communicated his views to her, with which she appears to have united. "But now," to give the narrative in his own words, "after I was come back from Ireland, and come to Bristol, and found Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord, that the thing should now be accomplished; and, after we had discoursed the thing together, I told her, if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should send for her children, which she did. And when the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons in law, if they had any thing against it, or for it, desiring them to speak; and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therein. Then I

asked Margaret, if she had fulfilled and performed her husband's will to her children. She replied, the children knew that. Whereupon I asked them, if their mother married, they should not lose by it; and I asked Margaret, whether she had done any thing in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children. The children said, she had answered it to them, and desired me to speak no more of that. I told them, "I was plain, and would have all things done plainly; for I sought not any outward advantage to myself." So after I had acquainted the children with it, our intention of marriage was laid before Friends, privately and publicly, to the full satisfaction of Friends; many of whom gave testimony thereunto, that it was of God. Afterwards, a Meeting being appointed on purpose, for the accomplishing thereof, in the public Meeting-house at Broadmead, in Bristol, we took each other in marriage, the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal seed of life: in the sense whereof, living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto, by Friends, in the movings of the heavenly power, which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both to the proceedings and marriage, openly read and signed by the relations, and by most of the antient Friends in that city, besides many other Friends from divers parts of the nation."

They continued about a week in Bristol after their marriage, and then went together to Oldstone, where they parted, "betaking ourselves," he says, "each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards, and I passing on into the counties, in the work of the Lord." Travelling through Wilts, Berks, Oxon, and Bucks, he came to London; having "had many large and precious meetings." Whilst in London, he wrote an epistle to the several quarterly meetings, recommending them to put out poor children to useful occupations and trades among Friends; and to establish funds for that purpose; "by which," he says, "ye may come to help the children of poor Friends; that they may rear up their families, and preserve them in the fear of God."

After a short stay in London, he travelled, in 1670, into Essex, Hertfordshire, and other counties, to Leicestershire, where he had requested his wife to meet him; but instead of meeting her he received an account that she was committed to prison at Lancaster, upon an old premunire, from which she had been liberated about a year before. On hearing this, George returned to London, taking several meetings in his way. When he reached London, he advised Mary Lower and Sarah Fell, two of his wife's daughters, to apply immediately to the King, and inform him how their

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mother was circumstanced; also to obtain a full discharge both of her person and estate from the effects of the premunire. The business was attended with considerable difficulty; but by close application was at length effected. Sarah Fell went into Lancashire with a letter, written by order of the King, for her mother's liberation; by her George wrote to his wife, whom he thus affectionately addresses: "My dear heart in the truth and life that changeth not."

In the year 1670 an additional exercise fell upon George Fox and his Friends, by the passing of the Conventicle Act; a law which was occasioned by some tumultuous meetings that had occurred in the country. It forbade more than four persons to meet together, except, I suppose, in the congregations of the Church of England. On this fresh trial, George first addressed a letter to Magistrates, to show them the unreasonableness of this law, and to soften their minds in the execution of it; after which he addressed an epistle to his Friends, to encourage them to faithfulness, and to bear with Christian patience and content, the suffering that was coming upon them. To this he also encouraged them by his example; for the next First Day he went to the Meeting at Gracechurch street; where he expected the attack would begin. Thus, like a good General, placing

himself in the front of the battle, animating his followers by his example and his precepts; being resolved to face all the dangers of his situation. When he came near the meeting-house, he found all the avenues to it guarded with soldiers. He however got into the court, where a Friend was preaching. After he had finished, George addressed the people, beginning with these words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" After he had spoken a short time, he was seized by a constable, accompanied with an informer and soldiers, to whom he shortly said, "Blessed are the peacemakers." He was now put among the soldiers, the officer saying, "You are the man I looked for." Some other Friends were also taken with him, and as they were going to the Mayor's house, the informer said to them, "It would never be a good world, till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago." Upon this George charged him with being a Papist, which soon spread among the people; so that after they came to the court of the Mayor's house, who was not then at home, the poor man was so intimidated, that he was desirous of making his escape; but when he came into the street, the people cried out, "A Papist informer, a Papist informer." The man was so roughly treated, that George and his Friends, those against whom he had informed, desired the constable and soldiers

to rescue him out of the people's hands, which they did, and brought him back to the Mayor's: but when he at last went away, the soldiers had again to interfere; and such was the disgust excited against the man, that the soldiers took him to a barber's shop, where he disguised himself by changing his wig, and thus he was enabled to make his escape.

After waiting some time, the Mayor came, and first examined some Presbyterian and Baptist teachers, whom he treated rather sharply, and convicted them. To George Fox and his Friends he, however, behaved with much mildness, recommending them, as Christ's promise applied to two or three who were met in his name, and the King's indulgence extended to four, to meet in such small numbers as would not infringe the law. This was very plausible; but George soon showed the fallacy of his reasoning, replying that "Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting in his name, but to encourage the few," wishing him "to consider whether this Act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples:" with more to the same purpose. After some discourse on the hardship of the Conventicle Act, the Mayor took down the names of the Friends, and dismissed them. Being set at liberty, George immediately returned to his post at Grace-

church street, from which he had been taken. Finding the people generally dispersed, he went into a Friend's house, and sent to inquire how his Friends had fared at the other meeting-houses in the city. He found that there had been a general attempt to put the new law in execution. Some Friends were taken, and liberated in a few days; but such was the zeal which animated the minds of Friends, that as soon as some who were preaching were taken down, others stood up to speak; to the admiration of the people. This admiration was increased, by the different conduct of many other dissenters; so that, on the whole, this trying time proved a means of spreading the great and good cause, which George Fox and his Friends laboured to promote.

The heat of persecution abating in the city, he felt his mind easy to leave it, and to visit his friends in the country. He attended several meetings in Middlesex, Bucks, and Oxon, which were not disturbed by Magistrates or others. At Reading, in Berks, he found Friends generally in prison, whom he visited there, and had a religious meeting with them, which was attended by several other persons. This opportunity was encouraging and refreshing to the prisoners, whom he recommended, with a small present, to the kindness of the jailer.

Travelling awhile longer in Surrey, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, his mind was brought under great exercise, on account of the profaneness and persecution which prevailed in the nation. This appears to have produced a long and heavy indisposition of body; so that, for a time, both his sight and hearing in a great measure failed him. During his illness, he was removed from one Friend's house to another, in the neighbourhood of London. This was in the winter of 1670 and 1671, in which time, after some improvement in his health, he wrote two short epistles to his Friends; and one to the rulers of the nation, whom he faithfully warned, as he had before done, of the evil of persecution, and the sore judgments which would be its consequence. Being also greatly oppressed with the licentiousness which was then openly manifested in the nation, he was engaged to put up a prayer to God, in the following words, which he committed to writing on the 17th day of the 2d month, 1671.

"O Lord God Almighty! Prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land! Bring down all injustice, iniquity, oppression, falsehood, cruelty, and unmercifulness in the land; that mercy and righteousness may flourish.

"O Lord God! Set up and establish verity, and preserve it in the land! Bring down in the

land all debauchery, vice, whoredoms, fornication, and this raping spirit, which causeth people to have no esteem of thee, O God! nor of their own souls or bodies; nor of Christianity, modesty, or humanity.

"O Lord! Put it in the Magistrates' hearts to bring down all this ungodliness, violence, cruelty, prophaneness, cursing and swearing; and to put down all these lewd houses and playhouses, which corrupt youth and people; and lead them from thy kingdom, where no unclean thing can enter, neither shall come. Such works lead people to hell. Lord! In mercy bring down all these things in the nation, to stop thy wrath, O God! from coming on the land.

"G. F."

CHAP. XVII.

1671 *to* 1673.—*Obtains a more complete liberation for his wife.—Sails for America.—Lands in Barbadoes.—Continues there three months.—Goes to Jamaica.—After spending seven weeks there, sails for Maryland.—Thence travels through New Jersey, &c. to Long Island, Rhode Island, and New England.—Returns by East Jersey, &c. to Maryland.—Goes to Virginia and Carolina.—Returns again to Maryland.—Sails for England.—Lands in King's Road, near Bristol.—Writes to his Wife.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the liberation of Margaret Fox, as before related, by order of the King; yet her persecutors found means, by the new Conventicle Act, either to retain her in confinement, or soon to recommit her to prison; but, when the violence of the persecution was a little abated, her husband employed a woman Friend, Martha Fisher, and another of her sex, to apply again to the King for her release; who granted a discharge under the broad seal, by which both her person and estate were now effectually cleared from the premunire, under which she had suffered for ten years. On her release, George requested her attendance in London, as he proposed soon to sail for America, and was desirous of her company, previously to his undertaking so long and try-

ing a journey. This request she readily complied with, and they spent several weeks together, at the house of John Rouse, of Kingston, who had married one of Margaret Fox's daughters. The yearly meeting in London, was now at hand, which was "a very large and precious meeting." After it was over, and George had finished some other services in this nation, he embarked at Gravesend, on the 12th of 6th month, 1671, in a yatch called the Industry, for Barbadoes. Twelve of his Friends, two of whom were women, were his companions in the voyage; and most or all of them were under a like religious engagement with himself. Their names were, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers.—His wife accompanied him to the Downs, and they parted at Deal; where some of the passengers went on shore. When they had been about three weeks at sea, they were pursued by a Sallee man of war, a kind of piratical vessel of the Algerine States. Without any avowed hostility to a particular nation, these pirates took and plundered all vessels they could meet with.

When it grew dark, they altered their course to miss the enemy; but the piratical vessel changed her

course also, and gained upon them. At night the master and others went into George's cabin, and asked him what they should do; adding "if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they had not come to the damage they did." In the conversation that passed, George Fox told them he was no mariner, and that "It was a trial of faith, therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel." "So retiring," he says, "in spirit, the Lord showed me, 'That his life and power was placed between us and the ship that pursued us.' I told this to the master and the rest, and that the best way was to tack about and steer our right course, putting out the candles." However, before midnight, the watch called and said, "They are just upon us;" yet George's faith was strong that they should be delivered; and he kept quietly in his cabin. The master and some of the seamen came again and asked him if they might not steer such a point; to which he consented. By this time the moon was quite gone down, a fresh gale arose, and they sailed on briskly, and saw the pirate no more.

The next day, being the first of the week, when they usually had a religious meeting in the ship, George exhorted the people "to mind the mercies of God, who had delivered them; for they might have been all in the Turks' hands by that

time, had not the Lord's hand saved them." After a voyage of above seven weeks, they landed at Barbadoes, where a Sallee merchant told the people that "one of the Sallee men of war saw a monstrous yatch at sea, had her in chace, and was just upon her; but there was a spirit in her that he could not take."

During the voyage, though George was not affected with sea sickness, his health declined very much; for the consequences of his long and great sufferings when in prison, seemed now to be particularly felt in this warm climate; and he experienced great pains, with other very unfavourable symptoms. After this trying voyage, when he landed at Barbadoes, he was taken to the house of a Friend, Richard Forstall; where, and at Thomas Rouse's, he continued several weeks. During this time, his mind in general was pretty cheerful, though he became much exercised on account of the unrighteousness of the people, which lay as a great weight upon him. After above a month's confinement, his spirit became easier, and his bodily health recovered in some degree; but not being able to travel, Friends held their mens and womens meetings for the exercise of Christian discipline, at his lodgings. Here he found many disorders had crept in; and he gave much excellent advice, particularly on the subject of marriage; discouraging this connexion with

near kindred, the entering into that state too early in life; and also without waiting a proper time after the decease of a former wife or husband. He also advised them to be tender of one another's characters, discouraging all defamation and slander. The keeping of registers of their marriages, births, and burials; the providing of suitable burying grounds, the making of their wills, and the proper disposal of legacies left for the service of the society, were all subjects of his care and advice; also the registering the condemnations of those whose conduct had been disorderly; and who, through true repentance, were willing to make public acknowledgment of their outgoings. The negroes likewise, as might be expected, formed a particular part of his care. His first concern for them was, that they should partake of religious instruction, and be trained up in the fear of God; in the next place, that they should be treated mildly and gently, and no cruelty exercised towards them; and lastly, that after several years of servitude, they should be liberated from a state of slavery. Had these wise Christian instructions been generally practised in our West India islands, much happiness would have been substituted for much misery; and many both private and public evils have been prevented.

When he became able to go a little abroad, he visited the Governor of the Island, by whom he

was kindly received and treated. After this, he went to Bridge Town, where he and other Friends had a large meeting. The civil reception which he met with from the Governor being generally known, many of the higher ranks of the people attended the meeting, in which three other Friends having spoken in public testimony, George was rather straitened for time; yet he was enabled, afterwards, to relieve his mind to the general and great satisfaction of those present. Many other large and comfortable meetings he had in this Island, in which he was the means of removing some misrepresentations, that had been industriously circulated against him and his Friends. At one of these meetings, a Colonel Lyne said, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you, who say you do not own Christ, nor that he died; whereas I perceive that you exalt Christ in all his offices, beyond what I have ever heard before." It appears that the enemies of the society, not being able to raise persecution by the civil or military governors, endeavoured to defame Friends and their principles; but this zealous and active defender of the truth, met his enemies in all their attempts to injure it; and here, not only in his sound gospel preaching, showed the falsehood of their reports; but, in conjunction with some other Friends, he published a paper, fully declaring the faith of the society in God and in Christ; also

their belief in the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Another slander was raised, that Friends taught the negroes to rebel; which is also noticed and contradicted in this paper. This seems to have arisen from their having had several religious meetings with them, in which the negroes were exhorted to the practice of justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, and piety; and to be subject to their masters and governors; all of which was directly contrary to the suggestions of the adversaries of the society.

After continuing full three months in this Island, "having visited Friends thoroughly, settled meetings, and dispatched the service for which the Lord brought" him there, and being clear of Barbadoes, he informed the Governor and others of his intention to leave them, and go to Jamaica; for which island he sailed, on the 8th of 11th month, 1671, in company with several other Friends. After a short and pleasant voyage, they landed in Jamaica, where they found several of their companions from England, engaged in gospel labour, with whom they united. Though the minds of many of the people were much corrupted, yet no opposition, either by the Magistrates or the people, appears to have been offered. Many were convinced of the rectitude of those doctrines which were preached to them; amongst whom were several persons

of eminence in the island. George Fox visited the Governor twice, by whom and several of the Magistrates, he was kindly received.

After continuing about seven weeks in Jamaica, he and his companions sailed for Maryland; but in their voyage there, they had very stormy weather, and were in great danger of being shipwrecked; particularly in passing through the Gulf of Florida. George's reflections and remarks on this occasion, are distinguished by that piety which formed a prominent feature in his character: "The great God," he observes, "who is Lord of sea and land; and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did, by his power, preserve us through many and great dangers, when, by extreme stress of weather, our vessel was divers times like to be overset, and much of her tackling broken. Indeed, we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people: for when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would, then did we pray unto the Lord, who did graciously hear and accept us; and did calm the winds and seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation. Blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath do-

minion over all, and whom the winds and seas obey."

How similar are these reflections, to those of the excellent Addison, on a like occasion. When describing his perilous situation, he says,

"Think, O my soul! devoutly think,
How with affrighted eyes,
Thou saw'st the wide extended deep,
In all its horrors rise.

Confusion dwelt in ev'ry face,
And fear in ev'ry heart;
When waves on waves, and gulphs on gulphs,
O'ercame the pilot's art.

Yet then from all my griefs, O Lord!
Thy mercy set me free,
Whilst in the confidence of pray'r,
My soul took hold on thee.

For though in dreadful whirls we hung,
High on the broken wave,
I knew thou wast not slow to hear,
Nor impotent to save.

The storm was laid, the winds retir'd,
Obedient to thy will;
The sea that roar'd at thy command,
At thy command was still.

In midst of dangers, fears, and death,
Thy goodness I'll adore,
And praise thee for thy mercies past,
And humbly hope for more."

The sense of the succeeding Stanza, though not expressed, in words, by George Fox, was strongly acted up to in his life, and at his death:

"My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
Thy sacrifice shall be;
And death, if death must be my doom,
Shall join my soul to thee."

On their arrival in Maryland, they went with John Burnyeat, a Friend from England, who had been visiting these parts, and had called a general meeting of Friends in this province, that he might take leave of them previously to his departure for his own country. This proved very seasonable for George and his companions; it being a very large meeting, and attended by many of the most respectable inhabitants of the country, who appeared to be well satisfied with this religious opportunity. After the public meetings were over, the meetings for discipline began; and the whole continued four days, terminating to the great satisfaction of those who attended. This was also the case with a meeting at Cliffs, where many who had been backsliders, were restored; and several meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church. Whilst in this province, he and his companions had a large meeting on the eastern shore, to which he desired the Indian Emperor and his

Kings might be invited. The Emperor came, but the Kings being at a greater distance, and having some difficulty in obtaining leave of their council, did not arrive till after the meeting was over. George, however, had two religious opportunities with them that evening, and they heard the word of the Lord willingly, confessing to its truth, and manifesting a desire to attend more religious meetings. Thus did this laborious Minister of the Gospel, publish its saving doctrines to Jew and Gentile; to professing Christians, and unenlightened Heathens; earnestly desiring that all might come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved.

Having finished his services, for the present, in Maryland, he and his companions set off for New England on horseback; being desirous of attending a half year's meeting on Long Island. In their journey through a wilderness country, they encountered many difficulties; sometimes travelling a whole day without seeing any human being or habitation. They frequently slept in the woods by a fire, and were sometimes accommodated in the Indian wigwams. One night they lodged at the house of an Indian King, who, George says, was a very pretty man. He and his wife entertained them very lovingly, and gave them the best accommodation they had; but having caught little that day

in hunting, they could not spare much provisions. It seems these Indians could not speak English; but, at another place, an Indian King came to them who understood the English language; and George spoke much to him and his people, who manifested great love and kindness on the occasion.

The route which they had taken led them over several rivers, as Miles River,* Wye, Chester, Saxifrax, Bohemia, and Delaware. Near the last river they stopped at a Dutch town, called Newcastle, formerly New Amsterdam, from which place they proceeded by West and East Jersey; and at length arrived safely on Long Island, about two days before the half year's meeting began, which they were particularly desirous of attending. They stopped at Gravesend and Flushing, in their way to Oyster Bay, where the meeting was held. It continued four days, and was attended by several persons who had opposed themselves to the establishment of meetings for discipline. After the other services of the meeting were over, George had an opportunity with those discontented people, who were much brought down; and, to use his own words, "the glorious truth of God was exalted and set over all."

* Perhaps Wicomico.

From Long Island the Friends sailed to Rhode Island, where they arrived on the 30th of the third month, 1672. About a week after their arrival, came on the yearly meeting for New England, and other colonies adjacent. This meeting continued six days; chiefly occupied in public meetings, which were largely attended by the people of all ranks; for there being no Priests on the island, and no restrictions as to religious worship, the people flocked in from all parts, and heard what was delivered to them with much attention, diligence, and affection, during four days. The public meetings being over, the mens meeting was next held, and after that the womens. In these meetings much advice was communicated respecting the service of them, and "that all might be kept clean, sweet, and savoury." When this large meeting was finished, Friends had been so nearly united together in the bonds of gospel love and fellowship, that it was hard to part, and they spent two days in taking leave of each other, and of those who lived in the island; after which, "being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations."

Finding great openness among the people, George felt his mind engaged to continue longer on the island; Robert Widders, who appears to

have been his intimate friend and fellow-labourer, remaining with him. Whilst here, a marriage was solemnized, which George and his companion attended. The manner in which it was conducted gave great satisfaction to those present, who observed that they "never saw such a solemn assembly, on such an occasion; so weighty a marriage, and so comely an order." In this island he also met with some Ranters, who opposed the establishment of meetings for discipline; with these he appointed a meeting, which, it seems, terminated to satisfaction. From Rhode Island, he made an excursion to Providence, about thirty miles, where the Governor and many others accompanied him. The meeting was very large, and the people went away much satisfied, desiring to have another meeting.

Having now finished his service in Rhode Island, he went to Narraganset; where he had a very large meeting, which was of good service. Most of the people had never heard Friends preach before; and they were much affected with what was communicated to them. At one place in this neighbourhood, George heard that some of the Magistrates, who did not then understand him and his principles, said, "If they had money enough they would hire him to be their Minister;" but when he heard this, he said to his friends, "It is

time for me to be gone; for if their eye is so much to me, or any of us, they will not come to their own teacher."

From Narraganset, George and his companion returned to Rhode Island; and soon after sailed for Shelter Island, about twenty-seven leagues distance; having, besides Robert Widders, James Lancaster, George Pattison, and John Jay, in company. They had a tedious passage of three days. Here they had a meeting on the first day of the week with the European inhabitants; and a few days afterwards, with the Indians. This meeting was attended by the King and his Council, and about a hundred Indians more. They sat down quietly like Friends, and were very attentive whilst George spoke to them by an interpreter. They afterwards manifested much love; and confessed to the truth of what was delivered to them. Before he left the island, he had another meeting with the inhabitants, which was very large and satisfactory, the people manifesting much regard both to him and to the truth which he preached. In concluding the account of his services in this island, he makes this pious ejaculation: "Blessed be the Lord! his name spreads and will be great among the nations, and dreadful among the Heathen."

Having spent about ten days in Shelter Island, they sailed for Long Island, where, after a very trying passage, they landed on the 7th of the 6th month, 1672, in Oyster Bay. Here they had a large meeting; after which they went to Flushing, where a meeting was also held; which was attended by many hundreds of people from different parts of the island. Of this George observes, "A glorious and heavenly meeting it was; (praised be the Lord God!) and the people were much satisfied."

From Flushing they passed to Gravesend, where they had "three precious meetings;" after which they sailed for a new country, since called Jersey. They landed in Middletown harbour; and the next day travelled into the country, about thirty miles, through woods and bogs. One of the latter, in particular was very dangerous, and had obtained the name of Purgatory. After a trying journey, they came to Shrewsbury, where they had a very satisfactory meeting on the first day of the week. During the same week was held the men's and women's meetings for transacting the discipline of the church. These meetings George Fox was very earnest to establish in this country, as well as in Europe; being, it seems, more and more convinced of their utility and importance.

Whilst they were at Shrewsbury, John Jay, a Friend of Barbadoes, who had accompanied them from Rhode Island, was thrown from a horse, by which his neck was dislocated. When taken up, he was laid on a tree, and considered as dead. George Fox hasted to the place as quickly as possible, and, when he came there, united in the general sentiment. As he stood over him, "pitying him and his family," he took hold of his head, and finding it move any way, he began to be apprehensive of the cause of his situation; on which he endeavoured to put the head and neck into their right place. The means he used for this purpose he thus describes: "Throwing away my stick and my gloves, I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head, and perceived there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, and brought it in. I soon perceived his neck began to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bid them have a good heart, and be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire; but I bid them get him something warm to drink, and put him to bed." In consequence of this treatment, the Friend soon recovered; and the

next day travelled with them about sixteen miles, to Middletown; and many hundred miles afterwards.

At Middletown they had a large and satisfactory meeting, most of the inhabitants of the place attending it. After this meeting, they went to the harbour about five miles, intending to proceed from that place into Maryland, through the woods; for which purpose they obtained Indian guides as they passed along. After five or six days hard and difficult travelling, they came to Newcastle, where as well as at Middletown, they had been on their way to Long Island. Here the Governor resided, and kindly gave George Fox an invitation to his house, which he readily accepted; his companions being also well provided for. The next day, being the first of the week, a meeting was held in the Governor's house, which the inhabitants of the place generally attended. Many of the people confessed to the truth of what was delivered, and some, it appears, were so far convinced, as to make public profession of it.

Leaving Newcastle, they travelled through woods and bogs about three days more, till they came to the house of Robert Harwood, on Miles River. Though very weary, and their cloaths much soiled with travelling through the bogs, they

next day attended a meeting, which was to be held in the neighbourhood; and on the First Day following, they had a meeting at another place, with which the people were much satisfied. The wife of a Judge who attended the meeting, said she had rather hear these Friends once, than the Priests a thousand times.

After attending some other meetings, they went to a general meeting for Friends in Maryland. This meeting held five days, the first three being employed in meetings for public worship, to which people of other societies came, both Protestants and Papists: Maryland being at first principally settled by Papists. The meetings were very large for that new settled country, a thousand people sometimes attending. It seems to have been held near one of the large rivers, and the number of boats passing backward and forward gave it the appearance of the river Thames at London. "This was," (to use George's own words,) "a very heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, Friends were sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all: everlasting praises to his holy name!"

The men's and women's meetings occupied two days; and after these were finished, George and

his companions took leave of Friends in this part of Maryland, whom, he says, they left well established in the truth. At what place this meeting was held does not appear. After it was over, they went by water to the western shore, and thence to Virginia, having several meetings in their way, which were numerously attended, and in which it appears their gospel labours, were blessed to the edification and convincement of many. The last meeting in Maryland was at Pattuxen, from which place they sailed for Virginia, on the 5th of 9th month, 1672, and after a passage of three days, arrived at Nansemond, about two hundred miles from Maryland. Here they had a large and satisfactory meeting, as well as at some other places of Virginia; but did not make much stay in this province, hastening to North Carolina; yet they met with great openness among the people, and a favourable reception of the gospel truths which they were concerned to preach.

In their journey from Virginia to Carolina, they found travelling very difficult. They went by Pagan Creek to Summerton, and thence to Bonner's Creek in North Carolina; passing through many bogs and swamps, and sleeping, except one night at Summerton, in the woods. At Bonner's Creek they came to a house, the first they saw in Carolina, and here lodged by the fire. Finding

themselves much wearied with travelling on horseback, they took a canoe, and passed down the creek to Hugh Smith's, on Macocomocock river, and afterwards down the river Maratick to Connieoak bay, from which place they went to the Governor's; who with his wife received them kindly. Here one person (a doctor) would dispute with the Friends, which afforded a favourable opportunity for explaining their principles to the people; particularly respecting the light and Spirit of God. This the doctor denied to be universal, and particularly that it was not extended to the Indians. An Indian being near, George called him in, and asked him, "Whether or no when he did lie, or do wrong to any man, there was not something in him that did reprove him for it." To this the Indian replying in the affirmative, the doctor was shamed before the Governor and the people; and being unable to support his argument, he went so far as to deny the Scriptures, thus exposing himself still further to the censure of the company. After lodging at the Governor's house, and being very courteously entertained, the Friends took boat and went about thirty miles on the river, to the house of Joseph Scot, one of the representatives of the country. Here, and at a place about four miles distant, they had meetings, in which their ministry appears to have been well received.

At several places, during his travels in America, George was engaged to hold meetings, or take opportunities of religious conversation among the Indians; his truly catholic spirit embracing "all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues." Whilst in this part of Carolina, he visited this people, and spoke to them by an interpreter, showing them, among other things, "that God made the world in six days, and made but one woman for one man; but that God did drown the old world for their wickedness." He also spoke to them "concerning Christ, showing them that he died for all men; for their sins as well as for others, and that he had enlightened them, as well as others, with his good Spirit." The Indians, among whom were their young king and several of their chief men, received kindly what was communicated to them.

After spending about eighteen days in the northern part of Carolina, in which their gospel labours had been blessed to many of the people, they returned towards Virginia, taking their horses again at Bonner's Creek; and, after two days hard and dirty travelling among the bogs, they again came to Summerton; where they met with a kind reception from a woman, who entertained them when there before. Here they had, the next day, a very good meeting with the inhabi-

tants; after which they left the place, and travelled about two days, till they came among Friends in Virginia. In this journey George Fox says, "we observed great variety of climates, having passed, in a few days, from a very cold to a warm and spring-like country; but the power of the Lord is the same in all, is over all, and doth reach the good in all; praised be the name of the Lord for ever!" Thus did this good man fulfill the apostolic injunction, "In every thing give thanks."

George Fox and his companions spent about three weeks in Virginia; having many meetings, in general to good satisfaction. They had also some close labour among their own Friends, finding some disorderly and wrong dispositions had crept in, which they endeavoured to suppress and correct with a good degree of success. When this service was finished, they returned into Maryland by water, having a tedious passage of about fourteen days up the Chesapeak, in an open boat; during which time, landing at night, they frequently lodged in the woods, the wolves sometimes roaring about them. The weather also was extremely cold, by which they suffered considerably. They arrived at James Preston's, on Pattuxon River, about one in the morning, having sailed about two hundred miles. The next day, being the first of the week,

notwithstanding their great weariness, they attended a meeting in the neighbourhood; and durthe week had several other meetings. They also visited an Indian King, with several of his people, having some religious conversation with them, and they manifested much kindness and love.

After travelling several days, and holding meetings at different places, they returned to the house of their Friend, James Preston, which they found burnt to the ground, through the carelessness of a female servant; in consequence of which, the Friends lodged three nights on the ground by the fire, in the eleventh month. The weather at this time was extremely severe, more so than usual in these parts; but one day the wind turning to the southward, the heat was so great as to be scarcely tolerable; yet the day following the wind returning to the north, they found it difficult to bear the cold. In our own country, sudden and great changes are not uncommon; but the extremes of this climate, appear to have been much greater and more sudden than we experience, or it would scarcely have been noticed.

After spending about four months in Maryland, and having many meetings, some of which were for the discipline of the church, and one among the Indians, George and his companions, found their minds at liberty to return to England,

but continued till the general meeting for the province, then approaching. This meeting was very numerously attended, both by Friends and others. It was a time of divine favour, and prepared their minds for the separation, which the next day took place; George and his companions sailing on the 21st of the 3d month, 1673, after taking an affectionate leave of those among whom they had been engaged in gospel labour, " parting in great tenderness, in the sense of the heavenly life and virtuous power of the Lord, which was lovingly felt amongst them.'

On the 28th of the 4th month, they arrived in King Road, in the Severn, having had a stormy but short passage, after they were clear of the Capes of Virginia. They landed at Shearhampton, and rode to Bristol, where they were joyfully received by their Friends; and that evening he wrote to his wife to inform her of his arrival. This letter was principally a pious effusion of grateful acknowledgments, for the mercies and preservations he had experienced in his late travels, in a wilderness country. It began thus: " Dear heart. This day we came into Bristol, near night, from the sea; glory to the Lord God over all for ever, who was our convoy, and steered our course; who is the God of the whole earth, of seas and winds, and made the clouds his chariot; beyond all words, blessed be his name for ever! He is over all in his great power and wisdom, amen!"

CHAP. XVIII.

1673 to 1677.—Continues about Bristol, where his Wife and others meet him.—Travels into Gloucester and Wilts.—Describes the service of women's meetings.—Comes to London.—Travels with his wife towards Swarthmore.—Is arrested on the way.—Is imprisoned at Worcester.—Removed by Habeas Corpus to London.—Afterwards to Worcester, and again to London.—Is honourably liberated, and goes with his wife to Swarthmore.—Continues there nearly two years.

GEORGE FOX intending to continue some time about Bristol, his wife came to him there, with two of her daughters, and her son in law Thomas Lower. Several other Friends, among whom were William Penn and his wife, also came to visit him. About this time, a great fair was held at Bristol, which bringing a large concourse of people together, and continuing several days, Friends, it appears, embraced the opportunity, which was thus afforded, of publishing their doctrines, and preaching the gospel of Christ to the people. George had much service in the meetings, which were now held; in which he observes, " many deep and precious things were opened by the eternal Spirit, which searcheth and revealeth the deep things of God."

Having finished his present service in Bristol, he travelled into Gloucestershire and Wilts. At Slaughtenford, in the latter county, he was concerned to recommend the establishment of a women's meeting; but he met with some opposition, which, however, he was enabled to overcome. The object of these meetings he thus perspicuously describes: "That faithful women, called to the belief of the truth, made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting gospel of life and salvation as the men are, might, in like manner, come into the possession and practice of the gospel order; and therein be meet helps to the men, in the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil and temporal things. That so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, perform, and discharge their offices and services in the house of God; whereby the poor might be better taken care of; the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reproved and admonished in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage more closely and strictly inquired into, in the wisdom of God; and all the members of the spiritual body, the church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love."

From Wiltshire he proceeded through Hampshire, Oxfordshire, and Bucks, to London; where he found the Baptists and Socinians had been writing against the society, which brought much exercise on his mind; but their books were answered, and their scandalous reflections confuted. It appears, that he continued a considerable time in and about London; making excursions into Essex, Middlesex, and Surrey. Whilst in the city, he was concerned to obtain relief for some of his Friends, who were suffering for opening their shops upon fasts and holidays, as they are called. He considered such observances, in these times, at best but human appointments, if they did not obscure the light of the gospel; and, being often connected with circumstances in which Friends could not unite, they therefore early declined complying with these practices; for which, at this time, as at many others, they underwent much suffering. After he had performed this service, he accompanied his wife and one of her daughters to Hendon, in Middlesex; and they afterwards paid a visit to William Penn, at Rickmansworth. George and his wife were now going for the first time, after having been married four years, to their own home at Swarthmore; but this reasonable attempt was prevented by the malice of his enemies. On their way, he visited his Friends, and had the satisfaction to find a consi-

derable increase of their numbers in several parts; but in passing through Worcestershire, he was arrested, after a meeting at Armscot, and, with Thomas Lower, committed to Worcester jail, by a strange warrant from Henry Parker, a Justice. Of this imprisonment he appears to have had a previous sense given him, and had mentioned it to his wife, who, with her daughter, was accompanied home by some kind Friends. She seems to have felt the disappointment very keenly, as may reasonably be supposed, and is also inferred from the following letter from her husband.

"DEAR HEART!

"Thou seemedst to be a little grieved when I was speaking of prisons, and when I was taken. Be content with the will of the Lord God: for when I was at John Rouse's, at Kingston, I had a sight of my being taken prisoner; and when I was at Bray Doily's, in Oxfordshire, as I sat at supper, I saw I was taken; and I saw I had a suffering to undergo. But the Lord's power is over all. Blessed be his holy name for ever!"

He and his companion in prison, Thomas Lower, laid their case before several Magistrates; but received no redress. Thomas might have obtained his liberty through the interest of his brother, Dr. Lower, one of the King's Physicians; yet he did not incline to make any use of those

letters which he received for that purpose, his attachment to his friend and father-in-law, inducing him to prefer confinement with him, to liberty without him.

When the Quarter Sessions came on, they were, on the last day of the sitting, brought into court; and their accusers not being able, and indeed scarcely attempting, to substantiate their charge against them, recourse was had to the usual snare of putting the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to George Fox, against whom their enmity principally lay. The oath not being put to Thomas Lower, he obtained his liberty, which he employed in attendance on his father, and in endeavouring to procure his liberation also. For this purpose an habeas corpus was obtained; and George Fox was removed to London, under the care of his son-in-law, Lower, whom the Under Sheriff had made his deputy. This and many similar circumstances, show the strong sense which was entertained of the innocence of our ancient Friends; and is a presumptive proof, at least, that malice, more than any apprehension of real guilt, influenced the conduct of their persecutors: but persecution is composed of inconsistencies.

George Fox and Thomas Lower left Worcester on the 29th of 11th month, 1673, and reached

London on the 2d of 12th month. On the two following days, George appeared in the Court of King's Bench; and from the disposition which appeared in the Judges, and the ability with which his cause was pleaded by Jones, the King's attorney, and others, hopes were entertained that he might be liberated. But his adversaries afterwards moving the Court that he might be returned to Worcester, they prevailed with the Judges to comply with their motion. This appears to have been principally effected by the influence of Justice Parker, who committed him, and who reported that there were several substantial men with him when he was taken, and that they had a design or plot in hand; for the better effecting of which, Thomas Lower continued in prison after his liberation, long enough to carry on their design. But this report was disproved, and indeed could scarcely be believed, as George Fox, after refusing to give bail, was permitted to travel down to Worcester at his own leisure, only engaging to be there at the Assizes, which commenced the 2d of 2d month, 1674. This he punctually fulfilled; and, at the Assizes, it appears an attempt was made by his adversaries, not to have him brought up, by omitting his name in the calendar; but by application to the Judge's son, he was brought into Court, where Judge Turner, who had treated him severely at Lancaster, presided. He appeared, however, now more moderate, and had it not been for the violence of Justice Parker, it was thought George would have been liberated. The Judge however referred the case back to the Quarter Sessions; and, in the mean time, through the kindness of other Justices, the prisoner was permitted to have the liberty of the town, and to lodge at a friend's house, till the Sessions came on. This interval was employed in promoting the cause of truth in various ways, and particularly by disputations with priests of different religious societies. When the time of the Sessions arrived, he appeared before the Justices; but Justice Street, the Chairman, who was also a Welch Judge, being unfavourably disposed, and influencing the Jury, they found the bill against him, which he traversed, and through the moderation of some Justices, liberty was given him till the next Quarter Sessions. After obtaining a copy of his indictment, he travelled towards London, visiting his Friends on his way thither. Whilst in the city, some of his kind, but officious, friends, endeavoured again to bring the case into the King's Bench; but did not succeed, the business being too far proceeded in at Worcester. George continued in London till after the yearly meeting there, which he attended, and describes it in these emphatic words: "Exceeding glorious the meetings were, beyond expression. Blessed be the Lord!"

The yearly meeting being finished, he soon after returned to Worcester, to be present at the Quarter Sessions; where Justice Street again presided, and tendered the oaths to the prisoner; but George proceeded to show the errors of the indictment, on which he was then to be tried, and clearly pointed out many errors and omissions, which were acknowledged by the Judge; yet the jury were induced by him to return their verdict guilty, and he, in an indirect way, passed sentence of premunire upon George Fox. Many of the Justices were, however, very moderate and kind; and John Ashley, a lawyer, voluntarily defended his cause; but Justice Street, sitting as Judge, over-ruled them all. A son of the Earl of Salisbury was also very kind, and being much grieved at the injustice of the Court, took a copy of the errors of the indictment.

Being now fixed in prison by a premunire, his wife came to him; and, at the succeeding Assizes, she and Thomas Lower delivered a state of his case to Judge Wild; containing the various circumstances from his commitment to the sentence of premunire; on which the Judge observed, that they might try the validity or invalidity of the errors if they would. This hint it appears was afterwards acted upon.

In the mean time, whilst ability was afforded, George employed himself in various acts of usefulness, to the good cause in which he was engaged; and among others, addressed a brief statement of the principles of the society to the King; not with a view to his own release, but for general benefit. Applications were made by others to the King on his behalf, who was so favourably disposed, as to be willing to grant him a pardon; but a pardon implying guilt in the person pardoned, George's high and just feelings of honour, would not permit him to accept his liberation, in any manner dishonourable to the cause in which he was engaged.

During his confinement at this time, he had a very severe fit of illness, in which he was supported by that Christian fortitude, which peculiarly marked his conduct in all his sufferings. After being restored to better health, and obtaining liberty to walk into the city, his wife went to London, to use means for his release; but as the King could grant nothing but by way of pardon, George chose to have the validity of his indictment tried before the Judges; and employed Thomas Corbet of London, for his counsellor. An Habeas Corpus was accordingly sent to Worcester, by which he was removed to London; and a few days afterwards was brought into the Court of King's Bench, where, among others, was Judge Hale. At the

first sitting, Corbet started an objection which greatly puzzled the Judges, saying, "they could not imprison any man on a premunire." This point appears to have been left undecided; and, the next day, the Court proceeded to try the errors of the indictment, which, being opened, were so many and so gross, that the Judges were unanimously of opinion, it was quashed and void, and that the prisoner ought to have his liberty. After this honourable acquittal, some persons present proposed the oaths being again tendered, telling the Judges that he was a dangerous man to be at liberty; but Judge Hale told them that he had indeed heard some such reports; but he had also heard many good reports. He therefore, with the other Judges, refused this cruel request, and ordered the prisoner to be liberated by proclamation. Counsellor Corbet acquired great credit by his defence of George Fox; and George was liberated in a manner congenial to his feelings, after suffering fourteen months imprisonment for no crime whatever. "The Lord's everlasting power went over all, to his glory and praise."

Being now at liberty, he continued in and near London, till the time of the yearly meeting in 1675; after which he and his wife again travelled towards Swarthmore, having one of her daughters with them. Being now too weak to ride on horseback, they travelled in a coach, visiting Friends as they passed along. At Lancaster, where George had not been since he was there as a prisoner, they attended the quarterly meeting; and he visited Friends, both in their men's and women's meetings, which were very full, large, and peaceable. On the 5th of 4th month, they reached Swarthmore, where he found it necessary to rest, in order to recruit his weakened constitution, which had suffered much by his late, as well as by former imprisonments.

Whilst at Swarthmore, he was visited by his Friends, from various parts of this nation and Scotland. His old persecutor, Colonel Kirby, also visited him, and even welcomed him into the country, behaving, in appearance, very lovingly; yet before he left Swarthmore, the Colonel manifested something of his former spirit; but did not proceed to any extremities.

George continued nearly two years with his wife, at her habitation; and employed his time in writing many papers and treatises for the promotion of the cause of truth, and in collecting some others heretofore written; besides enjoying the company of his Friends, to whom he appears to have been of easy access, and ever ready to impart such advice as their circumstances required. One

of the papers which he wrote during this interval, gives an historical account of the progress and sufferings of the Society, which he had been instrumental in forming. This account it may not be improper to insert. It is entitled,

"A narrative of the spreading of truth, and of the opposition from the powers which then were, written by George Fox, in the year 1676."

"The truth sprang up first to us, so as to be a people to the Lord, in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamghire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650: in Yorkshire in 1651, in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652, in Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland in 1653, in London and most of the other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1654."

"In 1655 many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up, and in 1656 it broke forth in America and many other places."

"In the authority of this divine truth, Friends stood all the cruelties and sufferings that were inflicted upon them, by the long parliament; to the spoiling of goods, imprisonment, and death, and over all reproaches, lyes, and slanders; as well as those in Oliver Cromwell's time, and all the acts

made by him and his parliament; his son Richard after him, and the committee of safety; and after withstood and out-lasted all the acts and proclamations since 1660, that the king came in."

"Friends never feared their acts, prisons, gaols, houses of correction, banishment, nor spoiling of goods, nay, nor the loss of life itself: nor was there ever any persecution that came, but we saw, in the event, it would be productive of good; nor were there ever any prisons that I was in, or sufferings, but it was for the bringing multitudes out of prison; though they who imprisoned the truth, and quenched the Spirit in themselves, would imprison and quench it without them; so that there was a time when such numbers were in prison, that it became as a bye-word, 'truth is scarce any where to be found but in gaols."

"And after the King came in, divers Friends suffered much, because they would not drink his health, and say, "God bless the king;" so that many Friends were in danger of their lives from rude persons, who were ready to run them through with their swords for refusing it, until the king gave forth a proclamation against drinking healths; for we were and are against drinking any healths, and all excess, both before his coming in and after; and we desire the king's good, and that the

blessing of God might come upon him and all his subjects, and all people upon the face of the earth; but we did desire people not to drink the king's health, but let him have his health, and all people else; and to drink for their own health and necessity only: for that way of drinking healths, and to excess, was not for the king's health, nor their own, nor any others; which excess often brought forth quarrelling and destroying one another: for they destroyed the creation and one another; and this was not for the king's wealth, nor health, nor honour, but might grieve him to have the creatures and his subjects destroyed; and so the Lord's power gave us dominion over that also, and all our other sufferings."

"But, oh! the number of sufferers in the commonwealth's and Oliver Cromwell's days, and since; especially those who were haled before the courts for not paying tithes, refusing to swear on their juries, not putting off their hats, and for going to meetings on the First Days; under pretence of breaking the sabbath; and to meetings on other days of the week; who were abused both in meetings and on the highways."

"Oh! how great were the sufferings we then sustained upon these accounts; for sometimes they would drive Friends by droves into the prison-

houses like penfolds, confine them on the First Days, and take their horses from them, and keep them for pretended breach of their sabbath; though they would ride in their coaches, and upon their fat horses to the steeple-houses themselves, and yet punish others. And many Friends were turned out of their copyholds and customary tenements, because, in obedience to the command of Christ and his apostle, they could not swear; and as they went to meetings, they have been stoned through the streets, and otherwise cruelly abused. Many were fined with great fines, and lay long in prison for not putting off their hats; which fines Friends could never pay, though they kept them in prison till they had satisfied their own wills; and at last turned them out, after keeping them a year or more in prison."

"Many books I gave forth against tithes, showing how the priesthood was changed that took them; and that Christ sent forth his twelve, and afterwards his seventy disciples, saying unto them, "Freely ye have received, freely give." So all who do not obey the doctrine and command of Christ therein, we cannot receive them."

"I was also moved to give forth several books against swearing, and that our yea and nay might be taken instead of an oath, which if we broke,

let us suffer the same punishment as they who broke their oaths. And in Jamaica the governor and the assembly granted the thing; it is also granted in some other places; and several of the Parliament men in England have acknowledged the reasonableness thereof. The Magistrates, after some time, when they saw our faithfulness in yea and nay, they who were moderate, both before and since the King came in, would put Friends into offices without an oath; but the cruel and envious would fine Friends to get money of them, though they could not pay them any."

"Thus the Lord's power hath carried us through all, and over all, to his everlasting glory and praise; for God's power hath been our hedge, our wall and our keeper, (the preserver of his plants and vineyard,) who have not had the magistrate's sword and staff to help us, nor ever trusted in the arm of flesh; but have gone without these, or Judas's bag, to preach the word of life, which was in the beginning before they were; which word reconciles to God. And thousands have received this word of reconciliation, and are born again of the immortal seed, by the Word of God; and are feeding upon the milk of the Word, which lives and abides for ever."

"Many have suffered death for their testimony, in England and beyond the seas, both before and

since the King came in; which may be seen in an account given to the King and both Houses of Parliament; being a brief, plain, and true relation, of the late and sad sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, for worshipping, and exercising a good conscience towards God and man."

"By reason whereof eighty-nine have suffered till death; thirty-two of which died before the King came into England, and fifty-seven since, by hard imprisonment and cruel usage. Forty-three have died in the city of London and Southwark, since the Act made against meetings, &c. about 1661, of which a more particular account was given, with the names of the sufferers, to the King and Parliament about 1668."

"And though divers laws were designed against us, yet never could any of them justly touch us, being wrested and misapplied in their execution by our adversaries, which some have been made to confess. All those laws that were made, and the oath which they imprisoned us for, because, in obedience to the command of Christ Jesus, we could not swear st all, were not originally intended against us; and yet we suffered by the several powers, and their laws, both spoiling of goods and imprisonment, even to death. And the Governor of Dover Castle, when the King asked him if he

had dispersed all the sectaries' meetings, said, that he had; but the Quakers, the devil himself could not; for if he did imprison them, and break up their meetings, they would meet again; and if he should beat them or knock them down, or kill some of them, all was one, they would meet, and not resist again. Thus the Lord's power did support and keep them over their persecutors, and made them to justify our patience and lamb-like nature. This was about 1671."

"Since the King came in, three Acts have been made against us, besides the Proclamations, by which many have suffered imprisonment and banishment, and many to death. And yet for all these acts and proclamations, persecutions, sufferings, banishments, faithful Friends are as fresh as ever in the Lord's power, and valiant for his name and truth."

"Some weak ones there were, when the King came in, who did take the oath; but after they had so done, they were sore troubled for disobeying the command of Christ and the apostle; and went to the Magistrates, condemned themselves, and offered to go to prison."

"Thus the Lord, in his everlasting power, hath been the support and stay of his people; and still his seed reigns, his truth is over all, and exceedingly spreads unto this year 1676."

CHAP. XIX.

1677, 1678.—*Leaves Swarthmore.—Travels into Yorkshire, and thence to London.—Accompanies William Penn to his house at Worminghurst.—Returns to London, and sails with several Friends to Holland.—At Amsterdam writes to the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine. Her answer.—Visits many places in Holland and Germany.—Returns to England.—Lands at Harwich, and goes to London.—Thence into Bucks and Bristol.—Labours much and successfully with those who oppose the Discipline.—Returns to London.*

HAVING finished the services described at the latter end of the preceding chapter, and being in some degree recruited in his health, George Fox left Swarthmore, the 26th of 1st month, 1677, and travelled with some difficulty, through Westmoreland, the Dales of Yorkshire, and other places in that county, till he came to York; where he continued a few days, being at the meeting on First Day, which was a very large and favoured opportunity. Many Friends met him there from other parts of the county, with whom, as well as with those in the city, he held meetings on the following day, at the house of John Taylor.

After finishing his services in York, and writing an affectionate letter to his wife, he travelled

southward by Tadcaster, Knottingley, Doncaster, &c. into Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire. At Leicester he found many Friends who were come out of the country to attend a horse fair, with whom he had a very good meeting the evening before the fair; and another the next evening at Knighton, about a mile distant. Thus did this indefatigable gospel labourer embrace almost every opportunity, at which a number of people were collected, for promoting the good cause in which he was engaged.

From Leicester he travelled through the intermediate counties, till he came to London. Previously to his entering the city, he spent a few days at the Widow Haly's at Hendon, and at William Mead's at Highgate. By the latter he was taken to London, and being fourth day, they attended the week-day meeting at Gracechurch street, where his Friends were much pleased to see him; and they were greatly refreshed together, under a sense of the divine presence and power which accompanied their meeting.

It was with considerable difficulty that George bore his journey to London, his sufferings, in prison and otherwise, having left his body so weak, that he could not travel far on a day; and in the nights he could take but little rest, on account of

the great pains to which he was subject; but he gratefully observes, that the Lord's power was over all, and carried him through all, to his praise.

Finding, in his journey to London, that some unfaithfulness had crept into the society, with respect to its testimony against tithes, occasioned principally by those who had opposed the establishment of Christian discipline, George was concerned to write an Epistle to his Friends, to stir up those who were unfaithful, and to encourage and strengthen others in supporting their Christian testimony in this respect.

Soon after his reaching London, the yearly meeting commenced, "wherein," to use his own words, "the Lord's powerful presence was very largely felt, and the affairs of truth were sweetly carried on, in the unity of the Spirit, to the satisfaction and comfort of the upright-hearted.—Blessed be the Lord for ever."

Soon after the yearly meeting, George Fox accompanied his friend William Penn to his house at Worminghurst, in Sussex, where he spent about three weeks, employing part of his time there in replying to an adversary's book, in conjunction with John Burnyeat. Returning to London, he, after a short stay there, set off for Harwich, to

embark for Holland, having felt his mind drawn to visit Friends there and in Germany, and to preach the gospel to the people. Some other Friends were also at that time under a similar concern; and William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith and his wife, John Furly and his brother, William Tailcoat, George Watts, and Isabel Yeomans, one of Margaret Fox's daughters, all took passage in the same vessel. They sailed from Harwich on the 25th of 5th month, 1677, and were landed at the Briel on the morning of the 28th, where they met with a joyful reception from their Friends; and soon afterwards took boat for Rotterdam.

George Fox and the other Friends attended the meetings at Rotterdam on first day, which were held at the house of Benjamin Furly; and, after spending two or three days here, he and William Penn parted from the rest, and passing by Overkirk, Delft, Leyden, and Harlem, came to Amsterdam. At Harlem they appointed a meeting, which was numerously attended, and proved satisfactory both to Friends and others who were present. Whilst at Amsterdam they were at the quarterly meeting there, which was attended by Friends from Rotterdam and Harlem. Here also the other Friends, whom they left at Rotterdam, met them. It appears that Friends had not yet procured meeting-houses; for the meeting was held at the house of

Gertrude Dirick Nieson. It was a large and serviceable meeting, in which the benefit of meetings for discipline was explained; and, at a subsequent meeting, monthly and quarterly meetings were established; also a yearly meeting for Friends in Holland and Germany, to be held at Amsterdam, which was very satisfactory to Friends in those parts. In this city they had several other meetings, both public and private; and particularly a very large one, on a first day, which was attended by a great variety of religious professors. In this meeting, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and William Penn, as well as George Fox, were engaged in public testimony, and "the meeting ended quietly and well."

George's companions left him at Amsterdam, where he continued a few days, during which time he wrote an Epistle to the Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, maternal aunt to George the First, who governed a small territory, and was a very religious and virtuous character; as may appear from the following short answer to George's letter.

"DEAR FRIEND!

"I cannot but have a tender love to those that love the Lord Jesus Christ; to whom it is given not only to believe in him, but also to suffer

for him: therefore your letter and your Friends' visit, have been both very welcome to me. I shall follow their and your counsel, as far as God will afford me light and unction; remaining still,

Your loving Friend,

ELIZABETH."

Hertfort, the 30th of August, 1677.

Being clear of Amsterdam, he travelled towards Friesland, accompanied by John Claus, who was his interpreter. In their way they had meetings at Alcmaer among Friends, and people of other professions, which were held peaceably and to satisfaction. From this place they passed to Hoorn and Enchkhuysen, where they took ship for Friesland, and landed at Worcum, whence they proceeded to Harlingen, tarrying there several days, visiting Friends, and attending meetings on a first day; which were held without any interruption. Some religious people afterwards came to converse with George Fox, who seemed well satisfied; and they parted in love towards each other. From Harlingen they went to Lewarden, and lodged at the house of a Friend, named Sybrand Dowes. Here they tarried only one night, and proceeded by Dockum, Groningen, and Delfziel, to Embden. At this place, Friends had suffered much persecution, and were often

banished from it. It does not appear that George Fox had any meeting here, except a small one with Friends, whilst waiting for a waggon, of which they were disappointed; the owner being afraid of having his horses taken from him. They therefore took boat to Leer, where they visited a Friend who was banished from Embden. Passing through Strickhausen, Deteren, and Oldenburgh, they came to Delmenhurst. Here, after being examined by the guards, they went to the house of a Burgomaster to lodge, who, it seems, kept an inn. There, finding many people collected, George embraced the opportunity of preaching to them, and warning them of the day of the Lord that would come upon all evil doers. The next day they went over the river Weser to Bremen, and thence to Fisherholder; where George had some religious service among the people; and then proceeded towards Buxtehude, and thence to Hamburgh.

On the evening of the day on which they arrived at Hamburgh, they held a meeting, which, it appears, was attended by a variety of people, and proved a good opportunity of relief to George's mind. "Yet," he observes, "a hard dark place this is, and the people are much shut up from truth." After encouraging and strengthening the minds of their Friends there, they proceeded, early next

morning, towards Frederickstadt. In their way they passed through Elmshoorn, Rantzow, Itzeho, and Hoghenhorn, having some religious service at the two last places. After two days travelling, much of it in the rain and in an open waggon, they came to Frederickstadt. Here they had a meeting with Friends the same evening; with which their spirits were much refreshed, finding a considerable number of their own society here; whose company and kindness appears to have been peculiarly grateful, after travelling so long among strangers, who were such both in a natural and religious sense. Here they continued several days, having a public meeting with the inhabitants, and a private one among their Friends only: the principal object of the last, was to establish monthly meetings for discipline in that city; which was readily complied with. Besides these meetings, George Fox had some religious discourse with two Jews, relating to the coming of the Messiah; but he found them very dark and ignorant of the meaning of their own Prophets.

The city of Frederickstadt belonged to the Duke of Holstein, who had manifested a disposition to banish Friends from it; but the Magistrates chose rather to resign their offices than comply with the persecuting disposition of the Duke; they themselves having come to that city,

to enjoy liberty of conscience. This was certainly much to their credit, and manifested, (which is too seldom the case,) a proper sense of the right and value of that liberty, which they had sought and obtained.

Being clear of Frederickstadt, George and his companions returned to Hamburgh, where, being joined by John Hill, a Friend from England, they had a very satisfactory meeting; after which, and some religious discourse with different persons, they departed from this city, and travelled through the Duke of Lunenburg's dominions, with much difficulty and danger from the flooded state of the country, till they came to Bormer Haven. They arrived at this place about eleven at night; and procuring some clean straw, they rested till four in the morning, and then proceeded to Bremen.

At Bremen they staid a very short time, and travelled by Keby, Oldenburgh, and Leer, to Embden. At Oldenburgh they were affected, as they had been when there before, with observing that the greatest part of the city had been consumed by fire; but their sorrow was increased by the irreligious conduct of the people. They were there on the first day of the week, and observed that the soldiers were drinking and gaming, and that the few shops which remained, were open,

and the people trading with each other. George laboured among the people in the love of the gospel, and they behaved quietly and civilly towards him; but his spirit was much burdened with their wickedness, and the little sensibility manifested under their late affliction. So much was his mind affected with their conduct, that, after his return to Amsterdam, he was concerned to write them an Epistle, to warn them of the consequence of their impiety and wickedness.

In the course of this journey, George Fox embraced opportunities which occurred for religious service, in many of the places through which he passed, which he himself describes in this manner: "Many times in mornings, and at noons and nights; at the inns and on the ways, as I travelled, I spake to the people, preaching the truth to them, warning them of the day of the Lord, and exhorting them to turn to the light and Spirit of God in themselves, that thereby they might be led out of evil."

From Oldenburgh, he and his companions proceeded by Leer to Embden, where they staid but one night; having a good meeting there in the evening. Here they took shipping for Delfziel, where they found a Friend, a goldsmith of Embden, who had been repeatedly banished from that

city, on account of his religious principles; besides undergoing various other sufferings, which the persecuting Magistrates had inflicted upon him. This Friend they comforted and encouraged, exhorting him also to faithfulness, in the support of the testimony committed to him. Departing from this place to Groningen, they met with another Friend, Cornelius Andries, who was also banished from Embden. At his house they lodged, and had a good meeting; after which they passed by Strobus and Dockum to Lewarden, where George found his daughter Yeomans, who was come from Amsterdam to meet him. Here they had a precious meeting, and some other religious service. The next day, John Hill having left them, they went by several lakes to Gardick; where they attended a meeting of Friends on first day, to which many people of other religious societies also came. After this meeting, and another religious opportunity among the people, they returned to Lewarden; whence they proceeded by Franeker to Harlingen; where they met with several Dutch Friends, who were intending to hold their monthly meeting there the next day. Here also came William Penn from Amsterdam. The meeting was large and satisfactory; and appears to have been the first of the kind, as the holding of such a meeting, both by men and women Friends, was then agreed to.

The service of the meeting for discipline being finished, a public meeting was held in the afternoon of the same day. This meeting was attended by persons of various religious denominations; and when George had finished preaching, an ancient grave man, who was a Priest, stood up and said: "I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine, for it is truth, and I have nothing against it." In the evening George had another meeting, with Friends; and the next day he and his companions took boat for Amsterdam, where they arrived so late that the gates were shut, and they were obliged to continue all night in the boat. Similar circumstances frequently occurred in this journey, and subjected the travellers to considerable inconvenience and hardship.

Having next day obtained entrance into Amsterdam, he continued there many days; during which time he was under great exercise, on account of some divisions which had taken place among Friends in England; and he wrote two Epistles to them on the subject. He also wrote one to Friends at Dantzick, who were then suffering under great persecution; besides several other Papers and Epistles on account of the Society, and some of a more public nature. He also attended several meetings whilst at Amsterdam, and one day went to Landsmeer, in Waterland,

where he had a very good meeting. This town is remarkable for having above one hundred bridges in it, generally, we may suppose rather small. He also made an excursion with divers Friends to Harlem, where they had a very satisfactory meeting. A Priest particularly expressed his desire, that the blessing of God might rest on them and their assemblies; and others said, they had never heard things so plainly opened to their understandings before. Whilst George Fox was at Amsterdam, George Keith and William Penn came there, after their visit to Germany; and entered into a public disputation with Galenus Abrahams, a very noted Baptist in Holland. This dispute not being finished in one day, was adjourned to another a few days distant, when it terminated to the satisfaction of Friends. In the intermediate time, a public meeting was held at Friends' meeting place; to which many hundreds of people of all ranks came, who behaved very agreeably; but some opposition was afterwards made, which gave an opportunity for explanation, by which the objections which had been brought forward were removed; and the people were not only well satisfied, but went away much affected with the religious communications, which they had that day heard.

George Fox having now finished his services at Amsterdam, took leave of his Friends there;

and, accompanied by William Penn and George Keith, went to Leyden, where they staid a day or two, seeking out and visiting some serious tender people in that city. From Leyden they passed to the Hague, where they visited a Judge, who appears to have been a religiously disposed, as well as a wise, man. With him they had much conversation, in which he advanced many objections to their principles, and put several questions to them, which were satisfactorily replied to; and they parted in much mutual love. Leaving the Hague, they went by Delft to Rotterdam, where they spent some days, during which time George Fox published an address to the Jews, and revised some other books and papers which he had written. After this and some other religious service, he, with the other Friends, and their kind hostess at Amsterdam, Gertrude Dirick Nieson, and her children, went to the Briel; and sailed on the 21st of 8th month, 1677, for England. They arrived at Harwich in the night of the 23d, having had a tedious and dangerous passage, in a leaky vessel. There were about sixty passengers, among whom the Friends had some good religious service. From Harwich George Fox proceeded by Colchester, Halsted, Braintree, Felsted, Saling, and Chelmsford, to London, where he was joyfully received by his Friends; and on the First Day following they had a refreshing meeting together, for which he feelingly praised the Lord.

Finding various occasions for his services in London, he continued there four or five weeks, interesting himself on account of his suffering Friends, particularly those in New England; of whom he had received very distressing accounts. He also wrote an excellent letter to the King of Poland, occasioned, it seems, by the sufferings of Friends at Dantzick. Besides his own arguments against persecution, it contains many expressions of Kings and others on the same subject. This letter was received and read by the King, and it is difficult to suppose, that it could fail of producing a good effect on his mind.

After finishing his present services in London, he travelled into Buckinghamshire, having meetings at Amersham, Hungerhill, Jordans, Hedgely, Wycomb, and Turvil-heath. In this county he met with much opposition from the Separates, particularly at a men's meeting, which was held at Thomas Ellwood's, who lived at Hungerhill. Here they endeavoured to hinder Friends from proceeding with the business of the meeting. This, however, George Fox prevented, by proposing a meeting being held, for the purpose of hearing and answering their objections. A meeting was accordingly appointed to be held, in the following week, at Thomas Ellwood's. It was largely attended, and the opposers had opportunity given to state their

objections, in which they manifested a particular enmity to George Fox; but he not only repelled their accusations, but answered their objections in such a manner, that the opposers greatly lost ground; and many who were weak and wavering, were restored to more full unity with their Friends, and satisfied with the religious care exercised among them. Faithful Friends were also united and refreshed together; and the cause of truth was much promoted by this, and a similar meeting held at Wycomb during the same week.

After completing his services in Bucks, George travelled into Oxon, Berks, and Wilts, visiting his Friends, and having meetings amongst them. At Reading he again met with some opposition, in the settling of a women's meeting; but the opposers were obliged to give way to "the weight of truth," with which they had to contend; and the meeting appears to have been established.

From Wiltshire, George went to Bristol, where he arrived the 24th of 11th month; just before the fair. This was a time of great concourse, and many Friends attended it on business; while others came there in the service of truth. "Many sweet and precious meetings" they had together; and great love and unity prevailed among those who stood faithful, against that spirit of opposition, which

had manifested itself in many places, and particularly at Bristol. George Fox was personally the butt of the opponents, who manifested much inveteracy against him; but he bore this, as he had done other sufferings, with heavenly patience; being more desirous to surmount opposition by a righteous and exemplary life, than verbally to plead his own cause, though firm in maintaining what he considered to be the cause of truth. By this conduct, the love of faithful Friends towards him was increased; and some who had been misled by his adversaries, seeing their envy and rude behaviour, returned to the unity of their Friends; and were thankful for the deliverance from the snare, in which they were in danger of being caught.

After he had finished his services in Bristol, he travelled through the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Oxford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Bedford, to London; where he arrived the 8th of 3d month, 1678. In this journey he had meetings with Friends at many places. At Worcester, where a few years before he had suffered a cruel imprisonment, he staid several days, and had much religious service among his Friends. At Ragley, in Warwickshire, he visited Lady Conway, who, he understood, was desirous to see him; and she received him with great kindness and tender-

ness.* In this neighbourhood he was visited by William Dewsbury, who was then a prisoner at Warwick; but it seems had liberty, at times, to visit his friends. They spent half a day together, no doubt to their mutual satisfaction. On the day of George's arrival in London, he went to the week-day meeting at Gracechurch street, where he says, "many Friends not knowing I was come to town, were very joyful to see me there; and the Lord was present with us, refreshing us with his living virtue; blessed be his holy name!"

* A particular account of this extraordinary woman, may be found in the Life of Dr. Henry More; mixed, however, with some representations of the Quakers. Further notice will probably be taken of her in the course of this work.

CHAP. XX.

1678 to 1684—*His services in London.—Goes by Herts, Warwickshire, &c. to Swarthmore.—Continues there above a year.—Writes an Epistle to the Yearly Meeting in London.—Leaves Swarthmore, and goes by Yorkshire, &c. to London.—Attends the Yearly Meeting there.—At Kingston writes to the Great Turk, and to the King of Algiers.—Visits Friends in Surrey and Sussex.—Returns to London.—In a Suit for Tithes, the Judges are surprized at his liberal conduct to his Wife and her children.—Makes excursions to the country, returning to London.—Again visits Holland, and returns to England.*

WHEN George Fox arrived in London, the Parliament was sitting; and he united with other Friends, in applying for relief for those, who were suffering under laws made against Popish recusants. In about two weeks, the yearly meeting came on. This meeting appears to have been very comfortable and refreshing to Friends, who were nearly united to each other in gospel love and fellowship; and no spirit of opposition manifested itself amongst them. They had also comfortable accounts from Friends in different parts of Europe and America; of all which he gives a particular account in a letter to his wife, written soon after this yearly meeting.

But though the yearly meeting was thus satisfactory, George suffered much in his spirit, on account of a prevailing disposition, in many, to depart from the simplicity and purity of their profession, and particularly to oppose the excellent discipline established in the society; for whose sake he published a paper "for undeceiving the deceived, and opening the understandings of the weak in this matter." It contains many sound observations and arguments, and had probably a good effect; though many of those who were settled in their opposition, did not profit by it.

During his residence in London at this time, the Parliament sat again; and he was again engaged in endeavouring to procure redress for his suffering Friends, to which many of the Members were much inclined; but other engagements prevented any thing being done at that time.

Having finished his services in the city, for the present, he went to Hertford, where he spent several days, and had much religious service of various kinds. From Hertford he went by Rabley Heath, Stevenage, Baldock, Hitchin, and Ashwell, into Bedfordshire, having meetings at all those places. In Bedfordshire he had many meetings, and much service in the cause of his Master; and then passed into Huntingdonshire. At Ives,

in this county, he was met by his friend George Whitehead; and they travelled together into Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. They parted at Great Bowden; and George Fox continued in this county, having meetings at Saddington, Wigston, Knighton, Leicester, Sileby, and Swanington. In these places he found a great disposition to receive his ministry, and was led to open "many weighty and excellent truths" to the people. While he was at Leicester, he visited his Friends who were in prison for their religious testimonies; encouraging them to faithfulness and patience under their sufferings. He also endeavoured to interest the jailer in their favour, advising him to treat them with kindness and all reasonable indulgence.

From Warwickshire he went into Staffordshire; where he had many open meetings, tending to gather those to whom he ministered, into a feeling of gospel truth, and to establish others therein. After spending some time in this county, he went into Derbyshire, where he visited his friend John Gratton, at his own house at Monyash; from which place he went into Yorkshire; and, after spending about two weeks in that county, he travelled into Lancashire and Westmoreland, having a precious meeting at Arnside, in the latter county. From this place he went to Swarthmore; where,

at their meeting the next day, he "had a sweet opportunity with Friends, their hearts being opened in the love of God, and his blessed life flowing amongst them."

In the course of his late journey, he had written and published several papers and epistles; and now, settling down at Swarthmore for a considerable time, he employed himself much in writing epistles to his Friends, on various occasions; in which he manifested his fatherly care for them; stirring them up to love and good works, and to an upright zeal for the promotion of truth and righteousness upon the earth. The following extracts from an epistle to the yearly meeting in 1679, will show the excellent spirit which continued to prevail, in this devoted servant of Jesus Christ: "The world expects more from Friends than from other people, because you profess more. Therefore you should be more just than others in your words and dealings; more righteous, holy, and pure in your lives and conversations; so that your lives and conversations may preach.—And, dear Friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, that ye may grow in love, that excellent way, which unites all to Christ and God. Stand up for God's glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord's honour, that, in no wise, his power may be abused, nor his name evil spoken of by any evil

talkers or walkers; but that, in all things, God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies, souls and spirits, the little time ye have to live." This instructive epistle he concludes with these words: "My life and love is to you all, and among you all. The Lord God Almighty, by his mighty power, by which he has preserved his people unto this day, preserve and keep you all in his power, and peaceable holy truth, in unity and fellowship one with another, and with the Son and Father. Amen."

Having continued above a year at Swarthmore, he again found his mind drawn to travel southward; and leaving his family and friends here in the 1st month, 1679-80, he passed through some parts of Westmoreland and Lancashire, into Yorkshire; and came to the city of York at the time of the Assizes, during which the quarterly meeting was also held. Here he interested himself and others in the cause of their suffering Friends, now in prison here, whose case was laid before the Judges. He also personally visited his Friends in prison, and encouraged them in their trying situation. The quarterly meeting too afforded him an opportunity of strengthening his Friends, in the support of the good cause which they had espoused, and of opening to them such gospel truths, as might tend to build them up on their most holy

faith, and to preserve them in their right places in the church of Christ. After spending several days in York, he went through parts of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and several others, to London; where he was, as usual, cordially received by his Friends. The yearly meeting being in the following week, he attended it with many Friends from different parts of the nation. Of this meeting he says, "A blessed opportunity the Lord gave us together, wherein the ancient love was sweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundantly over all."

Whilst he was in London, he exerted himself, as at other times, for the relief of his suffering brethren, both in this and other nations. He also wrote letters to his Friends in different parts of the world; and soon after he left London, whilst at Kingston, he wrote to "the Great Turk, and to the King of Algiers," warning them and the people under them, to turn from their wickedness and to fear the Lord. With the Algerines he particularly remonstrated on the cruelty, which they exercised towards their captives, among whom were some Friends.*

* It may not be improper here to give the following account of the Friends, who were prisoners at Algiers, as related by Sewell. "Now concerning those Quakers at Algiers, of whom mention hath been made that they were slaves there, it was a pretty long time before opportunity was found to redeem them; but in the meanwhile, they so faithfully served their masters, that they were suffered to go loose through the town, without being chained or fettered; and liberty was also allowed them to meet at set times, for religious worship; and their patrons themselves would sometimes come and see what they did there; and finding no images or prints, as Papist slaves in the exercise of their worship made use of; but hearing from their slaves that they reverently adored and worshipped the living God, Creator of heaven and earth, they commended them for it; and said it was very good, and that they might freely do so. And since one of them was raised to speak by way of edification to his Friends, some other English slaves frequenting that meeting, came to be united with them. In the meanwhile, the name Quakers came to be known at Algiers, as a people that might be trusted beyond others." See Sewell's History of the Quakers, page 96, 8vo. edition, 1795.

He next visited his Friends in Surrey and Sussex, and returned again to London. After continuing there about ten days, he visited several meetings in that neighbourhood, as far as Hertford. At this place he met with John Story, one of those who had been a principal opposer of the discipline, and in other respects deviated from the practices of the society. Though several of his party were there, yet they did not give any disturbance to the meetings held by George Fox; who had good service, in explaining the benefit of men's and women's meetings, one of which he attended here. He

had also a conference with the disaffected, amongst whom he laboured, endeavouring to show them the errors into which they were fallen. In the course of this journey, he mentions having visited two Friends' schools, one at Edmonton, kept by Christopher Taylor, and the other a girls' school at Shacklewell. Of these schools it appears he had been a great promoter, and he now seems to have felt an interest in their right support.

Returning to London, he continued there during the winter, labouring various ways for the benefit of the society, and the promotion of the cause of truth. Here, and in the neighbourhood he remained till the yearly meeting of 1681, of which he says; "It was a very precious meeting, in which the glorious presence and power of the Lord was eminently felt and enjoyed."

About this time George, and his wife who was now with him in London, were under a prosecution for tithes on the Swarthmore estate. The legality of the demand, as well as their conscientious principles, were involved in the question; and many endeavours were used to prevent the success of the claimant, particularly by personal applications to the Judges; but a sequestration was granted by the Court of Exchequer, accompanied, however, by a limitation which prevented the plaintiff from taking more than was proved; by which he was much disappointed. In the course of this business, the Judges were much surprized to find, that George Fox had legally bound himself from meddling with his wife's estate; an instance of disinterestedness, to which they found it difficult to give credit, till the deeds were shown to them.

He abode in London about a month after the yearly meeting, and then visited Friends in Sussex, among whom he had many large and precious meetings. He did not continue long in this county, but soon returned to London. After tarrying awhile there, he visited his Friends in some parts of Bucks, Berks, and Oxon, again returning to London; which city and its neighbourhood, from this time, became his principal residence, during the remaining part of his life. He however sometimes visited his Friends in the neighbouring counties; and in the year 1684 he paid a second visit to Friends and others in Holland.

In this journey, he was accompanied from London by Alexander Parker, George Watts, and Nathaniel Brassey, who were also under a religious engagement to visit Friends in those parts. They left that city on the 31st of 3d month; and the same day they reached Colchester in a coach, where they attended the meeting on the day following; being the first of the week. The report of George

Fox being there had spread much, both in Colchester and its neighbourhood, which occasioned a very large meeting; so that apprehensions were entertained lest the Magistrates should be alarmed and endeavour to break it up; but no attempt of this kind was made; and a very satisfactory meeting it proved. "Truly," he observes, "the Lord's power and presence were beyond words, for I was but weak, and my face by reason of a cold was sore; but God manifested his strength in us and with us, and all was well. The Lord have the glory for evermore for his supporting power."

Having spent two days more in Colchester, receiving and visiting his Friends, he and his companions left that town; and on their arrival at Harwich, met with William Bingley and Samuel Waldenfield. From this place they sailed for Holland, and landed at the Briel, after a fine passage of about sixteen hours. From the Briel they proceeded to Rotterdam, where they attended the meeting on First Day; and, whilst here, had some religious conferences with persons of note in the place. The next day they went to Amsterdam, where they attended the meetings of their Friends. The yearly meeting established here for the society in Holland and Germany, was at this time held. This afforded a good opportunity of seeing their Friends in these countries; and a refreshing time they had together, in the love of God. Here the

strangers from England separated, according to their several concerns; George Fox, with Alexander Parker and George Watts, remaining a few days at Amsterdam. Among other religious engagements, they visited Galenus Abrahams, whom George had seen when in that country before. He was an eminent preacher among the Menonists or Baptists, and had formerly manifested a dislike to George Fox, with a degree of fear, bidding him to keep his eyes from him, because they pierced him; but this disposition seems to have been removed, and he was now very loving, and in some degree confessed to the truth of what was said to him. His wife and daughter were also kind, and they parted in much love.

From Amsterdam, George and his companions, to whom John Claus was added as an interpreter, departed for Friesland, in which country they travelled about a week, visiting Friends and others; and mostly holding one or two meetings daily. They went as far as Harlingen, in West Friesland; from which place they returned by sea to Amsterdam; where, on the following first day, they attended the meeting, "which was very large and precious." Many persons of all ranks were there, and were very attentive to the gospel truths delivered amongst them. After spending about two weeks here, and making excursions into the country, particularly to Osanoverton, Landsmeer, Sardam,

and Alkmaer, they took an affectionate leave of their Friends in Amsterdam, and went to Harlem; where they had a very satisfactory meeting at the house of Abraham Froudenberg, a Friend of that place. The next day they departed for Rotterdam, where they had two meetings; and on the 15th of 5th month went to the Briel, where they took shipping for England. After a tedious voyage, they arrived safe at Harwich; from which place they went by Colchester, Witham, and Harestreet, towards London; but George being much enfeebled by travelling and other exercises, staid at his son-in-law, William Mead's, at Gooses, near Harestreet, and rested there several weeks; so that it was not till the latter end of summer, that he reached London.

After this journey, he ceased from much travelling, his principal residence continuing in London and its neighbourhood. But though his body was thus circumscribed, his enlarged mind was still active; and he employed his time in writing many Papers and Epistles to Friends and others in distant parts; in attending to the sufferings of his persecuted brethren, and in visiting the sick; besides being engaged in his public gospel labours in religious meetings.

CHAP. XXI.

1685 to 1690—Writes an Epistle to Friends on Account of Commotions in the Nation—Account of his Gift of Land and Meeting-House at Swarthmore — Resides principally about London—An Epistle to the Yearly Meeting at York—Increasing Infirmities—His Death and Burial.

DURING the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second, the nation was much agitated with popular disaffection; on which account George Fox became exercised for his Friends, lest they should be drawn into the spirit of contending parties, and neglect an attention to their own religious duties. On this account he was concerned to write them an Epistle, "To caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world, in which trouble is, and to dwell in the peaceable truth." From this Epistle it may not be improper to give the following extract:

"Dear Friends and Brethren, whatever bustlings and trouble, tumults or outrages, quarrels or strife, arise in the world, keep out of them all. Concern not yourselves with them; but keep in the Lord's power and peaceable truth, that is over all such things; in which power ye seek the peace and good of all men. Live in the love which

God hath shed abroad in your hearts, through Christ Jesus; in which love nothing is able to separate you from God and Christ; neither outward sufferings, persecutions, nor any thing that is below and without; nor to hinder or break your heavenly fellowship in the light, gospel, and Spirit of Christ; nor your holy communion in the Holy Ghost, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, which leads into all truth."

This Epistle is dated at London, the 11th of 4th month, 1685; and in the year 1688, about the time of the Revolution, he wrote another of a similar tendency. Thus did this faithful overseer watch over and encourage the flock, being on all occasions ready, both by word and deed, to minister to their wants; to extricate them from their difficulties; to guard them against all snares; and to warn them of the approach of that enemy, which goes about, either as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, or as a cunning serpent endeavouring to deceive and to betray. In such services as these did he employ the remainder of his days, adding to them acts of liberality both of a private and public nature. Of this trait of his conduct it may be proper to relate some circumstances, respecting a meeting-house at Swarthmore; which was provided at his expense, and with the ground on which it stood, and some other

adjoining, was given by him to the Society. It will doubtless be most acceptable and interesting to the reader, to be presented with some copious extracts from the papers which he wrote on this occasion; as they tend to exhibit his character in various points of view, in a very striking manner.

"George Fox's declared intention and motion for his giving up Petty's house and land for ever, for the service of the Lord and the people called Quakers."

"The eternal God, who hath in and by his eternal powerful arm, preserved me through all my troubles, trials, temptations, and afflictions; persecutions, reproaches, and imprisonments; and carried me over them all, hath sanctified all these things to me, so that I can say, all things work together for good to them that love God, and are beloved of him."

"And the Lord God of the whole heaven and earth, and all things therein, both natural and spiritual, he hath been, by his eternal arm and power, my preserver, and upholder, and keeper, and hath taken care and provided for me, both for temporals and spirituals, so that I never did want; and have been content and thankful with what the Lord did provide for me."

"And now the Lord hath done so much good to me, and to his name, truth, and people, to whom

I have offered up my spirit, soul, and body, which are the Lord's, made and created for his glory. And also I do offer and give up freely to the Lord for ever, and for the service of his sons, daughters, and servants, called Quakers, the house and houses, barn, kiln, stable, and all the land, with the garden and orchard, being about three acres of land, more or less; with the commonings, peats, turfings, moss, and whatsoever other privileges that belong to it, called Swarthmoor, in the parish of Ulverstone."

"And also my ebony bedstead, with the painted curtains, and the great elbow chair that Robert Widders sent me; and my great sea case or cellaridge, with the bottles in it. These I do give to stand in the house as heirlooms, when the house is made use of for a meeting place; so that a Friend may have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit in, and a bottle to hold a little water to drink."

"It being free land, and free from all tithe, both great and small; and all this I do freely give up to the Lord, and for the Lord's service and his people's, to make it a meeting place of."

"It is all the land and house I have in England, and it is given up to the Lord; for it is for his service, and for his children's."

GEORGE FOX.

"I do and have given up Petty's, which I bought of the children Susannah Fell and Rachel Fell for seventy-two pounds; for God's people to meet in, when they do not meet at Swarthmoor Hall; and let the rest of the ground and malt house maintain the meeting house, which may be made fit, either the barn or the house, as the Lord shall let Friends see which is best; and to slate it, and pave the way to it, that so Friends may go dry to their meeting. And let or set part of the house and land to maintain itself for ever for the Lord's service. And you may let any poor honest Friend live in part of the house. And so let it be for the Lord's service to the end of the world; and for his people to meet in, to keep them from the winter-cold, and the wet, and the summer-heat."

The foregoing extracts are from papers dated at Kingston-upon-Thames, the 13th of 12th month, and the 22d of 1st month, 1686-7, which appear to have been sent to Thomas Lower, who lived at Marsh Grange, in Lancashire, accompanied with a letter which also enters into many minutiæ, respecting the proposed meeting house; and, I apprehend, the insertion of the principal part of it, will also be acceptable.

"*Gooses, the 28th of 2d Month*, 1687.

"DEAR THOMAS,

"With my love to thee and thy wife, with thy mother, and brother, and sister, at Swarthmoor, and thy children, and the rest of Friends in the holy seed of life, that reigns over all. Dear Thomas, I have sent thee a copy of my mind concerning Petty's, which thou mayst privately show to thy mother, and the list of the names; which you that live in the country, you may know which of these are the fittest to put into the deed of trust. Chuse out first four of the most faithful and substantial Friends in this list, or other that you may approve of, to join you four brothers, unto whom the first deed of trust is to be made; and then you eight are to make it over by a deed of uses, to ten or twelve Friends more, which you may consider, who are fit to put into that second deed. So the four names that is to be joined with you, thou must send up, as shortly as thou can, that so the deed may be confirmed as soon as may be."

"This will be a confirmation of what has all along been in thy mother's mind; that the meeting will be continued at Swarthmoor. And as concerning the ten or twelve Friends more, unto which you are to make a deed of uses, the names of them may be considered on afterwards, when this is done. And as concerning the meeting place

itself, whether the barn or the house, I shall leave it to you. But if the barn will do better; if you could make it wider, may be it may be better, because there will be the house to go into, and the ground may be so raised, that you may go up a step or two into the meeting-house; and it will be more wholesome. And the yards are low, which may be raised and laid dry; and you have stones enough, and poor men to get them. And I would have all the thatch pulled off all the houses, and laid in a heap to rot for manure to be laid upon the close; and let all the houses be slated, and the walls about it to be made substantial to stand, and laid in lime and sand."

"And I would have a porch made to the meeting place, of the Common side, into the yard; and with rubbish and earth as before, you may raise the yard and the floors. And I would have the meeting place large, for truth may increase. The barn made as wide again, which you may do with pillars, or otherwise, which I leave to thee and the workmen; and I would have thee take Robert Barrow's advice in it. If you think fit to have the kiln continued, you may fit it up, if it be worth the charge of doing. But these things I must leave to you."

"I would have it gone about, and prepare things beforehand as soon as you can; when you

have viewed it, and see what you will want; either lime, sand, wood, or stone. And I would have Robert Barrow to do it, if he can. And I would have, next winter, an orchard planted when you see fit; you may get some trees to set in it where thou sees fit; and I would have some trees set about the close, and if thou will set some of thy fir trees there thou may. And when all is done and fitted compleatly for the Lord's service and his people's, let it stand till there be occasion for it; and I desire thee to be very careful in this thing, and let it be done as soon as may be; for it is not for myself, but for the service of the Lord and his people, and let it be done substantially."

"And as for the affairs of truth, in the general, things are pretty well, and meetings are quiet both in England and beyond the seas. And the Lord keep his people in his fear and in humility, in this time of liberty, that they do not forget him; for there is danger in a time of liberty, as in a time of suffering, for that to get up which will not stand faithful; but my desire is, that all may walk worthy of the Lord's mercies. So no more, with my love to you." "G. F."

In addition to the foregoing, it may be acceptable to have the following extract from a letter to Thomas Lower, when he sent him a copy of the feoffment deed. In this letter, after giving

directions about the deed and other writings relating to this business, that they should be transcribed and entered in proper books, he gives the following additional directions about proceeding in the work.

"And you may mind to buy all the things at the best hand, beforehand, to be ready. And I am in the same mind still, not to put any Friend to a farthing charge. But if Friends of the meeting or thereaway will come with their carts, and help to fetch stone, lime, wood, sand, or slate, I shall take it kindly; or to get stone off the common, if need be; and you may speak to Joseph Sharp, for he is a willing man, to help in any thing."

"And the twenty pounds of J. R.'s, which you are to receive, I have and do order it for that service: and the fifteen pounds thou hast in thy hands of Jane and Robert Widders, I order for that service and for the building; and the five pounds Susannah brought up I took of her, and what more ye do want, when it is wanted let me know. And so dear Thomas, with my love to thee and all the rest of Friends, in the holy and peaceable truth, that is stronger than all they that be out of it. And God Almighty keep you in it, and in the order of it. Amen."

"G. F"

Among the various means of developing human characters, private letters form an important and interesting part. This is particularly the case with respect to those men, who may be considered as public characters, in whatever line that publicity may have been obtained. Those who live in succeeding generations, have seldom an opportunity of contemplating such persons, but in that public capacity in which they have principally acted. It seemed therefore desirable to bring the more private parts of George Fox's character into view, by these extracts; for though the business to which they relate, may be considered rather of a public nature, yet it has afforded an opportunity of estimating his private virtues; and that in a manner, which cannot fail of making a favourable impression on the mind of every reader. The liberality of the gift, and the expressions of grateful piety with which it is accompanied, afford a pleasing idea of the donor; and when, to these considerations, are added the humility and deference with which he refers many matters to his children and friends, I cannot but contemplate this part with admiration and pleasure. He had now been, nearly forty years, an eminent member of a society, which he had been allowed to be the principal means of establishing; yet we see nothing in his conduct like lording over God's heritage. Though he stood, in the authority of truth over and against

every thing that would lay this heritage waste; yet, from various circumstances, as well as from these documents, he appears to have been preserved in much humility and love; and ,by these means, to have greatly endeared himself to his brethren in religious profession and gospel labour; as will in the sequel more fully appear. It is worthy of observation, that he takes no notice of this business in his own memoirs, though they are brought down to a later period of time.

During his residence about London, he spent much of his time at the houses of his sons in law, William Mead and John Rouse. The former lived at Gooses, a few miles from Romford in Essex; the latter at or near Kingston upon Thames. He also frequently visited other Friends at their houses in the country, finding that the air of London and his exercises there, did not suit his enfeebled constitution. In the year 1688 he was scarcely able to sit during the whole time of a meeting; and generally obliged to lie down when it was finished; but he still continued diligent in labouring, both "in and out of meetings in the work of the Lord, as He gave opportunity and ability." In the year 1689 he attended the yearly meeting in London, as he had done for several years past, with satisfaction: and this year addressed an epistle to the yearly meeting at York,

which, he says, "because of the largeness of that county, and for the conveniency of Friends in the northern parts, had for some years been held there." This epistle appears to have been occasioned by some dissensions which had taken place among Friends in that county. Because of its brevity, instruction, and sweetness, and its showing how love, now near the close of a laborious and suffering life, seemed to predominate in his mind, it may be acceptable to give the whole of it a place here.

"Dear Friends and Brethren in Christ Jesus,

"Whom the Lord by his eternal arm and power, hath preserved to this day, all walk in the power and spirit of God, that is over all in love and unity; for love overcomes, builds up, and unites all the members of Christ to him the head. Love keeps out all strife, and is of God. Love or charity never fails; but keeps the mind above all outward things, and strife about outward things. It overcomes evil, and casts out all false fears. It is of God, and unites the hearts of all his people together, in the heavenly joy, concord, and unity. The God of love preserve you all, and establish you in Christ Jesus, your life and salvation; in whom ye have all peace with God. So walk in him, that ye may be ordered in his peaceable, heavenly wisdom, to the glory of God, and the comfort one of another. Amen."

"G. F."

"*London, the 27th of the 3d month*, 1689."

The winter of 1689 he spent at Gooses, and was sometimes able to attend the meeting to which William Mead belonged, which was about half a mile distant from his house; but as he was not always able to do this, he frequently held meetings in the house, with the family, and with those who came to visit him; still feeling the benefit of frequent waiting upon God, and the duty of worshipping him in as public a manner as his bodily health would permit. He continued at Gooses till the 2d month, 1690, when he returned to London, and after paying a short visit to his Friends at Kingston, came again to the city, where he continued till the yearly meeting in the fourth month, of which he gives this account.—"The wonted goodness of the Lord was witnessed, his blessed presence enjoyed, and his heavenly power livingly felt, opening the hearts of his people unto him, and his divine treasures of life and wisdom unto them; whereby many useful and necessary things, relating to the safety of Friends, and to the honour and prosperity of truth, were weightily treated of, and unanimously concluded."

After this yearly meeting, he continued in London nearly a month, and then went into the country, as far as Hertford and Ware, visiting his Friends ar Tottenham, Ford Green, Enfield, Cheshunt, Waltham Abbey, and Winchmore Hill. At Hertford he had a meeting with the ancient Friends of that place, to whom he imparted suitable advice; and returned by Ware, and other places already mentioned, to London, in the latter part of the seventh month; where, except one excursion into the neighbouring country, he continued till his decease, being almost daily with Friends at their meetings, and writing epistles on different occasions. The last of these is addressed to Friends in Ireland, who were, at that time, under great sufferings, from the intestine commotions in that nation. This affectionate and encouraging epistle is dated the 10th of 11th month, 1690. The following day being the first of the week, he attended the meeting at Gracechurch street; where he was publicly exercised in his ministerial gift, both in testimony and supplication, with great power and clearness.

When this meeting was concluded, he retired to the house of Henry Gouldney, in Whitehart Court, when he informed some Friends who accompanied him, that he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of meeting; but added, "I

am glad I was here; now I am clear, I am fully clear." After this he lay down, but feeling the sense of cold continue, was put into bed; where, increasing in weakness, he continued with much peace and resignation, till his death, which took place after two days confinement. In the interval his mind was much engaged on subjects, which had, during a long exercising life, occupied his principal attention. That active spirit which had been indefatigably engaged in the universal love of God, to make known his truth and righteousness among the nations of the earth, was still alive to the promotion of this glorious cause. This was evinced by the directions which he gave at this awful crisis, respecting the distribution of books, calculated to promote the great ends for which he had personally laboured. The triumphant state of his mind over all his bodily weakness, was manifested by the following expressions to some Friends who visited him: "All is well; the Seed*

* The Word, or the Power of God, is called *an incorruptible seed*, 1 PET. i. 23; and by the term "Seed," George Fox, and other religious writers, frequently, and very emphatically allude to this divine influence. Cruden, under the head "Seed," thus explains the term: "The Word is called *an incorruptible seed*, because, continuing still the same, and being immutable in itself, it changes and renews the hearts of those who by faith receive it."—"Hence it is said, 1 JOHN iii. 9, Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his *Seed* remaineth in him."

of God reigns over all, and over death itself; and though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all; and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits." About four or five hours before his death, some of his Friends inquired how he found himself, to whom he replied with that fortitude and indifference to bodily sufferings, which remarkably distinguished his character; "Never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the Seed reigns, blessed be the Lord." Such was the composure which attended him at this solemn season, that he closed his own eyes and mouth at the time when life was expiring.

In this state of mind, his spirit quitted its earthly tabernacle, on third day, the 13th of the 11th month, 1690, between the hours of nine and ten at night; he being then in the 67th year of his age. At his close, he was surrounded by many of his sorrowful Friends; who, it appears from various accounts, and particularly from letters written on the occasion, were deeply affected with the loss of one whom they so highly esteemed and revered.

The interment took place three days after his decease, on which occasion a very large and solemn meeting was held at Gracechurch street; after which the corpse was conveyed to Bunhill Fields, accompanied by several thousands of Friends and

others.* Here, as well as at the meeting house, many public testimonies were given forth to the efficacy of that divine power, which had qualified their departed Friend, for the important services to which he had been called; and to the faithful labours, patient sufferings, and exemplary conduct, with which he had adorned the gospel of God our Saviour.

* William Penn, in a letter which he wrote on this occasion, calculates the number of Friends and others at two thousand; but Robert Barrow states the number much higher. He also mentions the Friends who were publicly engaged at the meeting house and burial ground, in the order in which they spake, viz. At the meeting house, James Park, Robert Barrow, Ambrose Rigge, Jasper Batt, William Penn, Francis Camfield, Stephen Crisp, John Taylor of York, Francis Stamper, and George Whitehead; Thomas Green was afterwards engaged in prayer. Notwithstanding the number of preachers, it appears the meeting lasted only about two hours. Those who preached at the grave side, were William Penn, Jasper Batt, George Whitehead, John Vaughton, and William Bingley.

CHAP. XXII.

Account of his Property.—His Character.

HAVING now terminated the account of the life and death of this devoted labourer in the Lord's vineyard, it remains to say something respecting his character, both in a private and public capacity. But before I enter upon this part of my work, it may be proper to give some idea of the property which he possessed. From an account which he left behind him, it appears that he held shares of two vessels, belonging to Scarborough; and had also a small share in some business. Several sums of money belonging to him are likewise mentioned, as being in the hands of different Friends; and from the best estimate which I am capable of forming, the value of the whole was about eight hundred pounds, exclusive of above one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania, which he says William Penn gave him; but it is doubtful whether he ever came into possession of this land, so as to derive any benefit from it. As it does not appear that he at all enriched himself by marrying a woman of fortune, it is likely the property which he possessed, was principally patrimonial. This may account for the ability

which he always manifested to support himself in his travels, so as not to receive any assistance from others, further than that hospitable entertainment, which the great head of the church has provided for his ministers.

In the different relations of a son, a husband, and that of a father to his wife's children, he appears to have discharged the duties of these stations with affectionate regard, though the nature of his religious services, prevented him from enjoying so much of their society, as would have been mutually agreeable. To the children of his wife, as well as to her, he was much attached. From some letters still preserved, it is evident that the daughters of Judge Fell, as well as their mother, had formed a very high opinion of George Fox, in the early part of his public services; and he having been the means of bringing them to the knowledge of the truth, they became united to him as a father and a friend. When he was married to their mother, the disinterestedness of his conduct, could not fail to add greatly to their esteem and affection; and it appears, by a testimony respecting him, given by his wife's daughters and their husbands, that they indeed found him "as a tender father, who never failed to give them wholesome counsel and advice." From this testimony it also appears that the esteem and affection which

they had entertained for him in early life, was rather increased than diminished by a longer and more close acquaintance; from which circumstance, as well as from others, we may gather, that he was a man of an amiable and liberal disposition, which greatly endeared him to those who were most intimately acquainted with him.

His natural faculties were clear and strong; and though he had not the polish of human learning, yet he was not deficient in useful knowledge. "A divine and a naturalist," says William Penn, "and all of God Almighty's making. He had in him the foundation of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where." He was indeed by no means opposed to the acquirement of learning, except as a necessary qualification for gospel ministry. On the contrary, he greatly promoted the establishment of schools, in his own society; and may be considered as a friend to learning, and not an enemy to it, as some have erroneously supposed.

His person was tall and corpulent; and his countenance graceful. His manners, to use the words of William Penn, were "civil beyond all forms of breeding:" and though some expressions which he occasionally used to those whom he considered as persecutors, and enemies of the truth,

might be plainer, or coarser than would now be thought proper; yet this is confined to the early part of his writings, and may be imputed to the zealous manners of the times, and to the honest indignation which he felt, against all violations of liberty of conscience; and particularly against the hypocrisy and deceit of many, who opposed and persecuted him. His general conduct, indeed, was so far from being harsh or severe, that his cotemporary biographer, already quoted, says, that "he was of an innocent life, no busy body, no self seeker, neither touchy nor critical; what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, it was a pleasure to be in his company. A most merciful man; as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence."

But it was in spiritual gifts and faculties, that this apostle of his day, shone with the greatest lustre. "He was a man," (I again quote William Penn,) "that God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of other men's spirits and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and, as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences

would fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations."

Though this sententious and rather abrupt mode of expression, might be his frequent manner of delivery; yet this does not appear to have been always the case; for in the testimony given by his children concerning him, they say, that "though of no great literature, he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season, to the conditions and capacities of most; especially to them that were weary and wanted soul's rest; being deep in the divine mysteries of the kingdom of God." Of this part of his character, I find a remarkable instance, in a manuscript which has been put into my hands, in which the following relation is given by an ancient woman Friend, to some who visited her. "And now, Friends," said she, "I will tell you how I was first convinced. I was a young lass at that time, and lived in Dorsetshire, when George Fox came to that county; and he having appointed a meeting, to which people generally flocked, I went among the rest; and in my going along the road, this query arose in my mind; What is it that I feel which condemneth me when I do evil, and justifieth me when I do well? What is it? In this state I went to the meeting. It was a large

gathering, and George Fox rose up with these words: Who art thou that queriest in thy mind, what is it which I feel, which condemneth me when I do evil, and justifieth me when I do well? I will tell thee what it is. Lo! he that formeth the mountains and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought; that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth; the Lord, the God of Hosts is his name. It is he by his Spirit that condemneth thee for evil, and justifieth thee when thou dost well. Keep under its dictates, and it will be thy preserver to the end." To this narration the ancient Friend added, "It was the truth, the very truth, and I have never departed from it."

The principal object of his gospel labours, was, to turn the minds of people from a dependance on the teachings of men, to an attention to the light and Spirit of Christ in their own hearts. "In his ministry," adds William Penn, "he endeavoured to open the truth to the people's understanding; and to ground them on the principle and principal Christ Jesus, the light of the world. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures; and would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them, with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification."

"But above all," continues this capable judge of men and things, "above all he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit; the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour; the fewness and fullness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration; as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverend frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord, than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear."

In the establishment of the discipline, it has already been observed, that he met with much opposition from many, who had been his own friends. Some of these had even imbibed an enmity against him; and both publickly and privately, endeavoured to lessen his services, and the favourable opinion which had been entertained of him. But here again, William Penn goes on, "He bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches. And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty; yet he never abused it, but held his place in the church

of God, with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed master, he was a servant to all, holding and exercising his eldership, in the invisible power which had gathered them, with reverence to the head, and care over the body. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service and occasion."

In addition to the foregoing delineation of the character of George Fox, chiefly extracted from William Penn's account of him, it may not be improper to add the testimony of Thomas Ellwood: and it should be observed, that Penn and Ellwood were both men who had received a liberal education, and had a general knowledge of the world, and things relating to it; as well as being men of religious principle and moral integrity; so that their testimony has all the weight and respect, that can be required on such an occasion. Thomas Ellwood's account is in these words: "I knew him not till the year 1660; but from that time to the time of his death, I knew him well, conversed with him often, observed him much, loved him

dearly, and honoured him truly; and, upon good experience, can say, he was indeed an heavenly minded man, zealous for the name of the Lord, and preferred the honour of God before all things."

"He was valiant for the truth; bold in asserting it; patient in suffering for it; unwearied in labouring in it; steady in his testimony to it; immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge; clear in opening heavenly mysteries; plain and powerful in preaching; fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom; quick in discerning; sound in judgment; able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness; an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance, meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self denial in all; both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance; manly in personage; grave in gesture; courteous in conversation; weighty in communication; instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings. Not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, or the peace of the church was concerned. Very tender, compassionate and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction;

full of brotherly love; full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God; beloved of God's people; and, (which was not the least part of his honour,) the common butt of all apostates' envy, whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought. He lived and died the servant of the Lord."

I have thought it necessary to be more particular in giving the character of George Fox thus at large, and from men the most capable and respectable in every sense of the word, because of the many injurious representations, which have been published respecting him. In every thing except learning, (and of this he had probably as much as many of the first preachers of the gospel,) his character will not suffer, on a fair comparison with those eminent Reformers, who first broke the shackles of popery, and were the means of emancipating nations from the yoke of the Romish hierarchy. Both he and they were no doubt subject to like passions as we are; and might occasionally evince the weaknesses of human nature; but in natural powers, in spiritual gifts, in disinterested and extensive gospel labour, and in those virtues which adorn the gospel of Christ, few, very few, I believe, have exceeded the subject of this memoir.

Many persons have been accustomed to view this extraordinary man, only through the eyes of his adversaries. If any of these should read this account of him, taken from the most authentic sources of information, it is hoped that they will be convinced of the injustice, with which his character has been generally drawn. Like those Reformers already alluded to, he was loaded with severe calumny and bitter reproaches, and, I believe it may be safely said, with no more regard to truth than they were. May those who are disposed to treat the memory of such a man injuriously, feel the force of the following lines, written by one of our best poets, after he had been describing a character similar to that which we have just delineated:

"Blush, calumny! and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which, aim'd at him, have pierced th' offended skies;
And say, Blot out my sin, confess'd, deplored,
Against thine image, in thy Saint, O Lord!

FINIS.

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APPENDIX,

Containing an Account of George Fox's Publications.

THE Writings of George Fox, collected and published after his death, are contained in three folio volumes. The first is, "A Journal or Historical Account of his Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love in the Work of the Ministry." It is preceded by several Testimonies concerning him, from his Relations and Friends; and by a long, but excellent Preface, written by Wm. Penn. From this Journal, which was published in 1694, and contains above 700 pages, the foregoing Account of him, is principally extracted.

The second Volume consists of "many Select and Christian Epistles and Testimonies, written on sundry Occasions." The number is 420: besides these, there are many Epistles contained in the first and third Volumes. George Whitehead has prefaced this Collection of Epistles, with some pertinent remarks on the Author, and his works. It was printed in the year 1698, and contains 557 pages.

The third Volume is entitled, "Gospel Truth demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books," &c. To this Volume, are also prefixed Testimonies concerning him from many of his Friends, by whom, it appears, he was not only much loved, whilst living, but that his memory was greatly revered, when he was removed from them. This Volume was printed in the year 1706; above fifteen years after his death. The Pieces are arranged chronologically; many of them are very short, and the title of each will be given at the close of this general Account. This Volume consists of

1090 pages, exclusive of the Testimonies, and a short Preface. Besides the Contents of these three Volumes, there are many other Publications, noticed by J. Whiting, in his Catalogue of Friends' Books.

George Fox, though not a man of learning, was, no doubt, a man of reading. In the Scriptures* he was particularly well versed; and he appears to have read much in Ecclesiastical, and some other Histories. As an Author, we are often struck with the excellence of his matter, and the strength of his argument; though we must acknowledge a want of method and of polish, particularly in his early writings. For these purposes, learning is certainly very useful, and renders written works more agreeable, and in general more beneficial. But the want of learning, if a fault, was the fault of his parents, rather than of himself; and the defect was perhaps more than counterbalanced, by rendering his natural and spiritual gifts more conspicuous; and by more strongly evincing the power of that grace, by which he might say with the Apostle, "I am what I am."

* It appears that he did not use the common translation, but either Cranmer's, or some other ancient version. One of these was placed, I suppose by him, in the Meeting-house which he built at Swarthmore. In a Note at the end of one of his Books, he mentions using "the antient approved Bible, printed in Queen Elizabeth's reign."

LIST of GEORGE FOX's WRITINGS,

Contained in the last-mentioned Volume.

		Date
1.	To all that would know the Way to the Kingdom; whether they be in Forms, without Forms, or got above all Forms	1653
2.	The Vials of the Wrath of God, poured forth upon the Man of Sin, and upon all Professors of the World, who deny the Light of Christ	1654
3.	A Word from the Lord to all the World, &c.	——
4.	To all who love the Lord Jesus Christ	——
5.	To the high and lofty ones	1655
6.	To all the Rulers of the Earth	——
7.	A Visitation to the Jews	1656
8.	A Visitation to all you that have long had the Scriptures, but are found out of the Life of them that gave them forth, &c.	——
9.	A Declaration of the Difference of the Ministers of the Word, from the Ministers of the World	——
10.	A Cry for Repentance, unto the Inhabitants of London chiefly	——
11.	The Woman learning in Silence; or the Mystery of Woman's Subjection to her Husband; also the Daughter prophecying	——
12.	A Declaration concerning Fasting, and the Prayer that God accepts	——
13.	The Promise of God proclaimed, which is Christ	——
14.	An Epistle to all People on the Earth; showing the Ignorance of all the World, both Professors and Teachers, of the Birth that must be silent, and of the Birth that is to speak, &c.	1657
15.	Concerning Silent Meetings	——
16.	To all the Magistrates in London, &c.	——

17. Concerning the World's hypocritical Salutations 1656
18. The Fashions of the World made manifest; also a few Words to the City of London . . . . —
19. The second Covenant, &c. . . . . —
20. A Warning to all the Merchants in London; with Advice to them to lay aside their Superfluity, and with it to nourish the Poor 1658
21. The Pearl found in England . . . . . —
22. The Wrath of the Lamb . . . . . —
23. The Lamb's Officer is gone forth with the Lamb's Message 1659
24. The serious People's Reasoning and Speech with the World's Professors . . . . . —
25. The Difference between the World's Relation and the Saint's Relation . . . . . —
26. To the People of Uxbridge . . . . . —
27. A Word in Behalf of the King; that he may see who they are that honour all Men, love the Brotherhood, fear God, and honour the King 1660
28. To the Turk, and all that are under his Authority —
29. Some Papers given forth to the Magistrates of the Island of Melita; and to the Emperor of the House of Austria, and to all those Princes under him; to the King of France, and all the Powers that be under him; and to the King of Spain; and lastly to the Pope . —
30. To the Emperor of China, and his subordinate Kings and Princes . . . . . —
31. To all the Nations under the whole Heavens; and to all those who have ministered the Letter, and yet are ignorant, and have kept others in the Ignorance, both of the Letter and Spirit also . . . . . —
32. A few Plain Words by Way of Query and Information to the Teachers and People of the Nation . . —
33. To both Houses of Parliament . . . . —
34. Concerning Christ Jesus the Covenant of God . . —

35. Truth's Triumph in the eternal Power over the dark Inventions of fallen Man 1661
36. A Declaration to the Jews; in which they may see that the Messiah is come, according to their own Prophets, and Gabriel the Angel; and according to their Number of Time and Years out of Daniel IX. . . . . —
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44. Concerning the Act that prohibits, that not above four or five may meet . . . . . —
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56. The People of God, in Scorn called Quakers, their Love to all Mankind asserted . . . . —
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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

MEMBERS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

BY HENRY TUKE.

VOLUME II.

J. PARNEL, J. CAMM, W. ROBINSON, &c. &c.

York:

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1815.

Advertisement.

The Editor expected to give in this volume, a short Biographical Sketch of the Author, by Lindley Murray; but a variety of considerations have operated to induce the printing of it in a distinct pamphlet; yet in such a form as to bind up with sets of the Author's works, which may then be had complete in 4 vols.

The Supplement to the life of George Fox is so printed as to be bound up, either with this or the first volume of the "Biographical Notices," at the option of the purchaser.

PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

THE pious and benevolent Author of the following work, had nearly completed the volume, before he became so much indisposed as to be unable to give it his finishing hand. But the useful and excellent nature of the work demands its publication. It may be considered as the last legacy of the Author, to the members of that Society, whom he dearly loved, and for whose best interests he felt himself deeply concerned. It is therefore a debt of justice, both to his memory, and to the persons for whom it was composed, to present it to them nearly in the state in which he left it.

The work in its present condition, except the notice respecting William Ames, the materials for which had not been seasonably procured, received the approbation of the Morning Meeting of Friends in London, before the Author's decease. But as it was his intention to give an account, in its proper place, of this intrepid and steady advocate for

the cause of truth and righteousness, the omission has been supplied by another person. The notice will be found at p. 129; and it is hoped, that this supply will prove more satisfactory to the reader, than if it had been wholly omitted.

Whether any Friend may, in future, proceed in the accomplishment of these "Biographical Notices," is at present uncertain. It is, however, a desirable object, that so entertaining and useful a work, as memorials of the lives and characters of many distinguished members of our society, should be completed according to the plan of the Author, for the comfort, example, and encouragement of many amongst us, especially of the rising generation. And it is hoped that some judicious person, qualified for so interesting a work, may feel his mind engaged to carry forward and complete, the views of our dear departed friend.

It is presumed that the present volume, from the variety of characters which it contains, and from most of them being but little, if at all, known to many Friends, will excite a peculiar interest and attention in its readers; and produce in their minds that satisfaction, which arises from the perception of new and revived evidences, in support of those principles which have long commanded their respect and attachment.

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CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF JAMES PARNEL.

AS the chronological order of my work, is regulated by the decease of the party, the first subject presented to my notice, is JAMES PARNEL, a young man who died in prison, when only 19 years of age; and who may be considered as the protomartyr of our Society, in support of its religious principles.

He was born at Retford, in the year 1636 or 7, and received a liberal education, probably at the Grammar School there. Of his parents I do not find any account, except that the father was a tradesman, which is incidentally noticed in one of the son's publications.

Whilst James was at school, and for a short time after he left it, he appears to have been of a wild disposition. His account of himself at this period is: "I may well say with Paul, 'Of sinners I was chief;' for according to my years,

I was as perfect in sin and iniquity, as any in the town where I lived; yea and exceeded many in the same." But his mind appears to have been very early visited with the manifestations of the Holy Spirit and Light of Christ; by yielding to which, he became sensible of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and of the vanity of many of the customs of the world. This produced a manifest change in his conduct and behaviour, in consequence of which, they who had loved him in his vain conversation, hated him so much the more in his conversion. Many of his own relations were also much dissatisfied, and he became an object of ridicule in the streets, so that he was accounted as one not worthy to live; and some were so violent as to say, that he who killed him would do God service.

These sufferings he was, however, enabled to bear with great firmness, and dependance on that Divine Power which had visited his young and tender mind. This he gratefully acknowledges in these words: "He that called me unto himself, that I might no longer follow the vain courses of the world, nor set my delight on things below, but that I might serve Him in newness of life, He by his power kept me, and gave me strength to bear his cross, and despise the shame; so that neither foul words, nor fair words, could

cause me to deny what God, by his grace, had wrought in my heart."

In this state of mind he became dissatisfied with the forms of worship then most prevalent, and was desirous of finding a people with whom he could cordially unite. This desire it seems was granted him, for a few miles from the place in which he lived, he met with some serious people, "whom," he says, "the Lord was gathering from the dark world, to sit down together and wait upon his name." To these he joined himself, and they became objects of reproach in the country where they lived—"counting it," as he observes, "greater riches to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

He was now only fifteen years of age.—After writing these words, my pen was arrested in its progress, while I contemplated this extraordinary instance of the operation of divine grace in so early a period of life. But all things are possible to him with whom we have to do; and truly He may still be thus addressed: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength."

About this time, which was the year 1653, he found his mind drawn to visit some Friends in

the North of England, "with whom," he says, "I had union in Spirit before I saw their faces." It was in this journey that he visited George Fox in Carlisle jail. George's account of him is: "J. Parnel, a little lad, about sixteen years of age, came to see me, and was convinced. The Lord quickly made him a powerful Minister of the Word of Life, and many were turned to Christ by him." By this it appears that the people to whom he had joined himself near Retford, were not of the people called Quakers, but probably Seekers, many of whom became united to Friends.

In the year 1655, he was concerned to visit a serious people about fifteen miles south from Retford, and when there, his mind was drawn to proceed to Cambridge, where he published two papers, one against corrupt ministers, and the other against corrupt magistrates, for which he was committed to prison. He was confined here during two sessions, and afterwards sent out of the town with a pass as a rogue and vagabond; but a justice of the peace who was sensible of his innocence, followed him and took the pass back to Cambridge. Not long after James returned there, and engaged in a dispute with the Baptists of that place, which appears to have been productive of little benefit. In departing

from this public dispute, he received very rude treatment from the scholars of the University, from whom he escaped with much difficulty.

He continued in Cambridgeshire about half a year, and then went into Essex. In both counties he met with much opposition, but many were convinced by his ministry. Among the rest was Stephen Crisp of Colchester, who was afterwards a very useful member and able minister in the Society. In this town James spent about ten days at this time, preaching in one day first at his own lodgings, next, after the service in one of the public places of worship, and afterwards in a large meeting appointed for him. After all this he disputed publicly with two priests in the French School. Many thousands of people were this day partakers of his gospel labours, "in all which," according to Stephen Crisp, "the wisdom, power, and patience of Christ appeared very gloriously; to the convincing," adds Stephen, "myself and many more, who were witnesses of that day's work." Stephen Crisp's account of his services in Colchester is so descriptive and impressive, that I cannot well forbear continuing his narrative: "He spent that week in preaching, praying, exhorting, and admonishing, turning the minds of all sorts of professors to the light of Jesus, which did search

their hearts and show their thoughts, that they might believe therein, and so might become children of the light. Many did believe, and found it so. Others were hardened and rebelled against the appearance of truth, and became enemies, with whom he disputed daily in great soundness, and in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit; by which also many were reached and convinced of the truth, and the mouths of gainsayers stopped. This made many gnash their teeth on him, and some undertook to club out the priest's and professor's arguments, by beating this dear lamb with fists and staves, who took all patiently, particularly one who struck him with a great staff as he came out of one of the steeple houses and said: 'There, take that for Jesus Christ's sake;' to which he returned this answer: 'Friend, I do receive it for Jesus Christ's sake.' Many other intolerable affronts were offered him, in all which his spirit was not seen to be raised in heat or anger, but was a pattern of patience and meekness."

From Colchester he went to Coggeshall, where he had been before. A fast was appointed by the Independents, who were now the ruling party in Church and State. The object of it was to pray against the spreading of error; by which it appears they meant the doctrines of the Quakers. But they were not content with praying; a sermon must also be preached, in which that people were bitterly inveighed against, and much misrepresented. This roused the zeal of James Parnel, who was present; and when the priest had finished, he commenced a reply to the reflections which had been cast upon his friends, with observing: "This is the order of the true church, that all may speak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that stands by, let the first hold his peace." As he proceeded in his discourse he was interrupted, and some dispute ensued, after which he left the place; but he was followed by a justice of the peace, who arrested him in the name of the Protector, and committed him to Colchester castle. Here he was closely confined, and the jailers forbidden to permit his friends to visit him.

In the course of a few weeks he was removed to Chelmsford, to take his trial at the assizes there. He and five criminals were chained together, and in this degrading manner was this innocent youth led through the country above twenty miles. When he arrived at Chelmsford, the prisoners were not immediately separated, but continued chained together night and day for some time.

When the assizes came on, he was brought into court handcuffed; but the people expressing their dissatisfaction with this act of cruelty, he was remanded to prison, and at his second appearance his manacles were taken off. When he was on his trial, the indictment was read, the substance of which was, that in a riotous manner he entered the parish church of Great Coggeshall; that he stood up there, and told the minister he blasphemed and spoke falsely; and that he could not give a good account where he was last settled, or of his life and conversation, appearing to be an idle person. To this he pleaded not guilty. A priest and two justices appeared in evidence against him, who it seems were not very correct in their evidence, and when James endeavoured to speak to the jury in his own defence, the judge would not permit him, and in other respects acted very improperly, suffering his accusers to stand on the bench, whispering to him, and incensing his mind against the prisoner.

The judge also endeavoured to influence the jury in a very partial manner. However, when the jury gave in their verdict, they found him guilty of only publishiug a paper which he had written in answer to his mittimus, and signed with his name; but of that part of the indictment, which only was

punishable by law, the riotous entrance into the parish church (so called) of Coggeshall, they acquitted him. He was indeed so far from entering the place riotously, that he went quite alone, having declined accepting the company of a friend who offered to go with him, and sending some children into the place before him, whom he found assembled about the door. In the dispute which arose, on James Parnel's defending the principles of his Friends, he mentioned "the church in God." This expression the priest said was nonsense. James proved it to be scripture language, and charged the priest with blasphemy in calling it nonsense. This part of the indictment was therefore acknowledged, as well as the paper already mentioned, and he defended himself by saying, that he did not think it indecent to call an unjust judge, unrighteous; a persecutor, a persecutor; or a deceiver, a deceiver.

The verdict of the jury was not satisfactory to the judge, who wished to have better authority for that severity which he was disposed to exercise on the present occasion, he therefore endeavoured to draw something more from the foreman, in which he succeeded; but the rest of the jury did not assent to it. The judge, however, with that violent and arbitrary spirit which particularly characterized the times, proceeded to give judgment against the

prisoner, by amercing him in two fines, amounting together to about forty pounds: one was imposed for his contempt of the magistracy, and the other for that of the ministry; for the judge said that the Lord Protector had charged him to punish such persons as should contemn either magistracy or ministry.

James Parnel not paying the fines imposed, which he would have considered a confession of guilt, he was taken back to Colchester jail. This was in an old castle, supposed to have been built by the Romans. The jailer received orders from the judge not to permit any giddy-headed people, (meaning his Friends,) to visit the prisoner. This charge was executed with as much severity as the judge could desire; for both the jailer and his wife appear to have been of a cruel disposition. The latter set her man to beat her innocent prisoner, and sometimes even exercised this cruelty herself, swearing that she would have his blood. His victuals were frequently taken from him, and he was not permitted to have a bed, which his friends would have sent him, to sleep on; the consequence of which was, that he was obliged to lie on the stones, in a cold damp place, on the ground floor.

After sometime of confinement here, he was put into a hole in the wall of the castle, not so large

as some bakers ovens. His ascent to this was by a ladder which was about six feet short of the hole he had to enter, and a rope was fixed to remedy this inconvenience. By this ladder and rope he had to ascend and descend on all occasions, nor would his cruel keepers permit him to have a cord and basket, with which to draw up his victuals, though his friends would have provided them for him.

Winter was now approaching, which increased the hardship of his situation. The hole in which he was confined was damp, and not capable of being warmed by fire; the consequence was that his limbs became deprived af their natural agility, so that it was with difficulty he could climb into his hole with such inconvenient means of access. One day after he had ascended the ladder, and was catching at the rope, he missed his aim and fell dowir to the ground on the stones. When first found he was supposed to be dead; but this did not prove to be the case. He was, however, much bruised and wounded with his fall. After this he was put into a hole under the other, there being two stories of these vaulted holes in the walls of the castle. This hole was called the oven, and smaller than that in which he was first confined. Here he recovered in some degree from the effects of his fall, and being desirous of taking the air in

the castle yard, his cruel keepers would not permit him. He was therefore obliged to confine himself to this small apartment, to which there was no access for light or air, but by the door. In this situation his health necessarily suffered, so that his life was despaired of, if he continued in his present confinement. Two of his friends, William Talcot and Edward Grant, therefore offered to be bound in the sum of forty pounds, provided he might be permitted to come to one of their houses till his recovery; and another friend, Thomas Shortland, offered to lie in prison for him. His persecutors were, however, unrelenting; and so wicked was the jailer, that once, when the door of his hole was open, and he had taken the opportunity of going out and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls, the jailer locked the door of his hole, and obliged him to remain in the open air all night, in the coldest part of winter.

These sufferings were too great for nature to support; and after ten or eleven months confinement at Colchester, his youthful constitution sunk under them. In his last illness, his mind was preserved calm and resigned. To two friends who were with him at the time of his decease, he said: "Here I die innocently." And again: "This death I must die: I have seen great things.

Do not hold me, but let me go." His last words were, "Now I go." After which he fell asleep, and in about an hour quietly expired.

Thus terminated the life of this pious and zealous young man. Great indeed was his zeal against the hypocritical and persecuting spirit of the high professors of those days. That his ardour might sometimes lead him to use expressions rather violent and irritating, I am induced to believe from the perusal of some of his writings;* but such seems to have been, at that time, the general mode of opposing what was considered error; and his youth will be an apology for some excess of zeal. Nothing which he said or did, could however justify, either legally or equitably, the violent treatment which he received from his enemies and persecutors. His sufferings, it ap-

* That I may not be thought to make this observation lightly, I give the following extract:—"Here follows the copy of a Note which was written against the Idol's Temple, which was judged a contempt of the Ministry. 'This is the Idol's Temple where the Worship of the Beast is upheld. Down with it; Down with it;' of the Minister he says: "This is a deceiver, who stands up here every first day of the week to deceive the people: he is proud and covetous, and speaketh a Divination of his own brain," &c. It might seem by the first quotation, that his design was to instigate the people to demolish the building; but no part of his conduct evinced such a disposition; nor do I find that his enemies put this construction upon his words.

pears from various accounts, he bore with great meekness and patience; and these, together with his gospel labours, were greatly blessed, to the convincement and conversion of many who were witnesses of them.

He was of small stature, and his appearance altogether seems to have been diminutive, which frequently excited the contempt of his opponents, who designated him by the name of, "the Quaking Boy." But however his enemies might say, that "his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible," yet it appears from various accounts of him, that he was a powerful and effectual Minister of the Gospel; and at the same time a good example to those among whom he laboured; his conduct being adorned with gravity and humility, whilst he was blameless in conversation and unspotted from the world.

His writings were collected after his death, and published in the year 1675, in a quarto volume. To this collection are prefixed Testimonies concerning him from several Friends who were convinced by him; with an extract from one of which* I shall conclude this account. "He was a true Minister and Messenger sent of God, who brought tidings of the way of life and salvation to me and

* Samuel Cater, of Fenstanton, or Littleport.

many more in these parts of the nation. And this I can say also; as the Lord was pleased to call him into his blessed work, so he furnished him with virtues suitable for the same, according to the work of the day in which he brought him forth, and did mightily appear for him and with him, in giving him courage, and wisdom, and power, whereby he was prepared and fitted for every service and exercise, that the Lord called him unto; which service he faithfully performed, of a ready mind and with a willing heart." This testimony the Friend concludes with these words: "Surely, the mighty power and wisdom of the Lord was with him of a truth!"

Having given a specimen of the zeal which he manifested against those things and persons which he considered contrary to the truth, I shall scarcely do justice to his character, without giving another specimen of his writing, by quoting an Epistle which he entitled, "A few Words to all my dear Friends in and about the County of Essex." See page 291 of his Works.

"And all you my dear friends, you scattered and despised ones in and about the county of Essex, whom the Lord by his powerful word is now gathering out of darkness into his marvellous light; out of the kingdom of this world, into the

kingdom of his dear Son; whom he is separating unto himself, to walk before him in holiness, that you might know him and he might know you in the light of his countenance, whose faces he hath turned towards Sion, to seek after a land of rest unto your weary souls, which have been tossed to and fro, from mountain to hill, in this cloudy and dark day, seeking rest but finding none; but now is the day of beauty broken forth nigh you, even in you, yea and glad tidings is come unto your wearied souls, by which a pure love is begotten in you to the everlasting truth, which hath been freely declared amongst you by the messengers of the Most High, who have reached the witness for God in your consciences, which doth seal the same upon your hearts; which your teacher is, and unto it you hearken and are obedient; in which light all stand still and behold the work which the Lord hath begun amongst you, and you shall have no cause of discouragement. Though the sea doth rise and the raging waves do swell, as if they would swallow all up, yet it is limited by the unlimited, and it shall but foam out its own shame.

"And as I had a time to preach the truth among you, to the convincement of many, so also now I have a time to seal the same with patient suffering in the bonds of the gospel, that you may see *that*

it is no other but what we are made able and willing to seal with patient suffering; yea with our blood if we be called to it, as many of us have done, in this nation, though it be called *a land of liberty;* but it is for *iniquity,* but truth and equity are strangers in it, and therefore are persecuted. But you that are found worthy to receive these strangers, happy are you; and though the raging *Sodomites* compass you about, for to cause you to cast out these strangers, that they may work their wills upon them, yet be faithful and fear them not, but cast out your darlings before them, and stand in the faith of the God of truth and equity, and you shall see the *Sodomites* struck with blindness that they shall not be able to prevail against you; but when they are weary with striving, they shall be made to sit down in sorrow, and so shall it be fulfilled which of old was prophesied; that *no weapon formed against the faithful shall prosper;* but *woe unto them that lift up their heel against them.*

"Therefore I charge you all in the name of the God of Truth. *Be faithful, valiant, and bold for the truth received; and as you have received it, so walk in it that you may profess no more in word but what in life you seal, that the life may be preached forth in your lives, and shine forth in your conversations, to the glory of the Father of Lights, and the confounding of the* heathen, who

profess God in words, but in life deny him; *and be willing that self shall suffer for the truth, and not the truth for self,* (for the truth was ever sealed with persecution, since Cain's generation had a being upon the earth,) *and so own the cross and despise the shame, and give up yourselves to suffer for the truth received, all you that would follow the Lamb to the land of rest, and through many trials you will wax strong and bold, and confident in your God;* for God is not known what a God he is, until the time of trial.

"*And all keep your meetings in the name and fear of the Lord God, waiting for his power in the obedience to his light, which in your consciences doth reprove you when you do amiss, that in it you may wait and watch over the foes that are of your own house, that you may know the warfare begun in your hearts against your spiritual enemies; and so the God of power manifest himself amongst you, by his mighty power bringing down all that in you which opposes him, and would not that he should reign over it and exalt his own seed in your hearts, and establish you in righteousness, that his image you may bear;* and he shall be your God, and you shall be his people.

"And so, in the unchangeable truth, I rest in unity with all the faithful, in the glorious liberty

of the sons of God, though in outward bonds for your sakes.

"Known to all that can read me in spirit.

"JAMES PARNEL."

A FEW LINES

Written after visiting the dungeon at Carlisle, in which James Parnel was convinced by George Fox; and on subsequently reading the account of his confinement and death in the prison at Colchester.

When Heav'n attracts me from my poor estate,
Where chain'd to earth my dull affections wait;
Where love and zeal, at best, but feebly draw,
My tardy steps to duty's holy law,
Thee! righteous Parnel! I with tears behold,
In age a stripling, but in service old:
I stand reprov'd by thee, thou youth divine,
A backward child with days that double thine;

On thy fair mind, the boundless power of truth
Rose strong and ardent, in thy tender youth;
And led thee forward, fearless, without guile,
To wake the sinful of this darken'd isle:
Many there were, in those laborious days,
Who heard thy word, and gave thy Master praise;
But wrathful, fierce, the arm of power arose,
And struck the servant labouring in his cause.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF JOHN CAMM.

THIS Friend was one of those who attended that remarkable Meeting held at Firbank Chapel, in Westmorland, by George Fox, when great numbers were convinced of our principles, and many of them afterwards became eminent ministers and labourers in the gospel of Christ.

JOHN CAMM was born at Camsgill, in the Barony of Kendal. His family, it appears, had given name to the place, which had been in their possession for several generations.* He received a good education, and was from his childhood religiously inclined. As he advanced in years, he joined himself in society to such as were most

* The word "gill" sometimes signifies a beck or rivulet and in this instance it seems to have been so applied, in consequence of a small stream running through the estate.

strict in the observance of religious duties, and most exemplary in their conduct. He and several others had separated themselves from the national way of worship, and met together for religious improvement, and the performance of divine worship. They had not, however, found what their souls were satisfied with, but were prepared to receive further manifestations of the way of life and salvation. George Fox was the means of opening this to them; and the subject of the present Memoir appears to have received the testimony which was borne by that able minister, with greater readiness than some others, who did not accept it till after close examination and much debate.

Being a man of considerable property and good abilities, he was rising in the world, which, according to the account given by his son, "seemed to smile upon him, and the riches and glory of it had exceedingly increased, and were then likely to increase more." Yet all these things became light in his estimation, when placed in competition with obtaining an inheritance incorruptible, and that fadeth not away; and he readily resigned all for Christ's sake, being willing to follow him through much contempt and many tribulations.

After undergoing much secret exercise of mind, he became prepared for the public service of the

ministry, in which capacity he travelled in the Northern Counties of England, as far as the borders of Scotland. After his return from this journey, he was engaged to visit some of the Southern parts of the nation, in which he was accompanied by Francis Howgill; and it appears that these two Friends were the first who preached and published the doctrines of our Society in London; but the principal object of this journey was, "to declare the message of the Lord to Oliver Cromwell, then called Protector."

They not only paid him a personal visit, but John Camm also wrote to him. The Epistle begins thus: "On the last day of the first month called March,* about two o'clock in the morning, I was moved of the Lord to write these ensuing lines, and to lay before thee the cause of our coming hither to London. Friend, we came not to thee to petition any thing from thee in the outward, but in the tender bowels of love to exhort thee to mind thy own condition, how thou standest in relation to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is powerful, and pure, and holy; who will not acquit the wicked, but will wound the hairy scalp of him who goes on in iniquity; before

* The year is not mentioned, but I suppose it to be 1654, and that he left home in 1653.

whose presence all stand naked and bare; who knows and sees all the secrets of thy heart; thy outgoings and incomings; to whom thou must give account of all things done in the body, whether they be good or evil. Therefore, in love to thy soul, were we moved to come to exhort thee to stand in the fear of the Lord and in his counsel, and to mind the light in thy conscience, which is pure and of God to guide thee in the great affairs of the nations."

Part of the object of this Epistle appears to have been to caution the Protector against countenancing any oppression or suffering for religion. In their personal visit they had intimated to him how he might be made instrumental in establishing the gospel, which it seems the Protector supposed they meant to be done by law. This mistake is therefore rectified, in a manner which deserves transcribing, for the justness of the sentiment which it contains: "Thou apprehendedst us that this should be established by an outward law. That was not our desire, we spoke no such thing; but we witness the coming of Christ in his kingdom is not by might, nor power, nor pomp, nor glory from without, nor by any law which is in the will of man; but our desires were that there should be no law upon religion, for it needs no law to defend it." This Epistle concludes thus:

"Take heed; for he that is in high places is subject to many temptations."

Soon after John Camm's return from this journey, he again travelled Southward, accompanied, at setting out, by four of his neighbours, viz. John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, and Richard Hubberthorn. He and Edward Burrough went through the Midland Counties to London, where the others, who had taken a different course, met them. Several other labourers in the same cause, were at this time in the Metropolis, and great success attended their united endeavours. After some time, John Camm and John Audland found their minds drawn towards Bristol, where "a great door and effectual" was opened unto them, and many hundreds were, through their instrumentality, turned to God and Christ, and to the inward manifestations of the Holy Spirit in their hearts.

Among the fruits of their ministry, were Josiah Cole, George Bishop, Charles Marshall, and Barbara Blaugdon. But whilst many of the people received them gladly, the priests were much disturbed with the success of their ministry, and incited first a mob, and afterwards the magistrates, against them. The former was indeed very tumultuous, endangering the lives of these two

friends; and the latter issued a warrant for their apprehension; but they had left the city, and therefore it had no effect. It appears most probable that they returned home soon after leaving Bristol, as I find them at Hereford on the 25th of the 7th month, 1654, and Joseph Besse states their being at Bristol in that month.

I do not meet with any account of John Camm from this time until the year 1656, except that from the date of a letter to Friends in Bristol, it appears he was at home, at Preston Patrick, in Westmorland, the 20th of the 2d month, 1655. In the year 1656, he and John Audland again visited Bristol; and after their return from this journey, it is likely that great and increasing infirmities confined John Camm to his home and its neighbourhood. He was of a weak constitution and consumptive habit, and the exercise which he had undergone, in the large meetings at Bristol and other places, many of which were in the open air, had no doubt increased his weakness. He had, indeed, always travelled with great infirmities, frequently taking his son Thomas in company, to wait upon him; but his bodily disorders now rapidly increased, under which his mind was, however, preserved in much patience and resignation.

During the time of his illness he frequently called his family together, giving them much religious advice, and often praying for them. His mind was not only resigned to his situation, but he had also learned the apostolic lesson: "In every thing give thanks," as appears from the following expressions which he uttered: "How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond many, having such a large time of preparation for death; being dying daily, that I may live for ever with my God, in that kingdom that is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and moulders down, and draws towards its place and centre; but my inward man revives and mounts upward towards its place and habitation in the heavens."

On the day of his decease, he called his wife and family together, and after giving them much advice, he fainted, and to appearance passed quietly away in a sweet sleep. This occasioned such a sorrow and weeping, that the noise awoke him; and, desiring to be raised in his bed, he addressed his family to this import: "My dear hearts, you have wronged me and disturbed me, for I was at sweet rest. You should not so passionately sorrow for my departure. This house of earth and clay must go to its place; but this soul and spirit is to be gathered up to the Lord, to

live with him for ever, and where we shall meet with everlasting joy."

After these expressions, he again took leave of them, and quietly expired in the 11th month, 1656, in the 52d year of his age.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF WILLIAM ROBINSON.

I AM now brought, in the course of my work, to notice several Friends who suffered death for their religious opinions, in New England, by the Episcopalians; and in order to give the reader an idea of the circumstances under which they suffered, it may be proper to prefix some information, extracted from Joseph Besse's Account of Friends' Sufferings. "In that province," he observes, "were sitting at the helm of government, a set of men, making high pretensions to religion, and such as had loudly cried against the tyranny and oppression of the bishops in Old England, from whom they had fled; professing themselves, 'pious and peaceable Protestants, driven by severity to leave their native country, and seek a refuge for their lives and liberties, with freedom for the worship of God, in a wilderness, in the

ends of the earth.' Yet when invested with power, we find them exercising a cruel dominion over the faith and consciences of others; in which they appear to us not so inconsistent with themselves as some have thought: because, when, under oppression, they pleaded for liberty of conscience, they understood it not as the natural and common right of all mankind, but as a peculiar privilege of the orthodox. They had long before any of the Quakers came thither, viz. in the year 1646, made a law or order for uniformity in religion, by imposing a penalty of five shillings per week, on such as came not to hear the established ministers. Thus they early began to intrench themselves against any further discoveries of truth and religion, by a penal law; and as to the Quakers, they had received an unreasonable prejudice against them, as appears by their rigid treatment of the first of them who came into that country." Vol. 2, p. 177.

The preceding passage shows the persecuting disposition of these emigrants, who themselves fled from persecution. Finding that the people called Quakers were likely to visit them either in their commercial or religious concerns, they made severe laws against them, punishing those who came among them, with cutting off first one ear, then in case of repetition, the other, and for a third offence boring the tongue with a hot iron.

And when they found these punishments insufficient, with several cruel additions, they at length made a law for inflicting the punishment of death on all those who had been banished from them. This punishment was actually executed on three men and one woman, who came in gospel love to visit them, and to warn them of the evil of their ways; particularly in indulging a spirit of persecution, contrary to the precepts of Christ Jesus, our common Lord and Saviour.

William Robinson, the first of these sufferers, was a merchant in the city of London, of whom I find very little account; but it appears that he left his own home to pay a religious visit to the new settlers in America, about the year 1659.

In the course of his journey, he came to Rhode Island; and when travelling there, he found his mind drawn to go to Boston in New England, where, as is already noticed, a law had been made to banish all Quakers, not inhabitants, from the jurisdiction of that place, and making non-compliance, or returning after complying, punishable with death. Marmaduke Stevenson had accompanied William Robinson to Boston, and Mary Dyer was already there, also one Nicholas Davis. These four were summoned before the Court of Assistants, from whom they received sentence of

banishment. This however was not thought to be sufficient punishment for William Robinson, who being considered a teacher, and a principal, was also sentenced to be whipped. The sentence was executed upon him, by putting his hands through the holes of a great gun, to which the jailer held him fast, while the executioner inflicted upon him twenty stripes with a threefold corded whip.

Robinson and Stevenson left the town of Boston; but not finding their minds clear of that religious service which induced them to come there, they remained within its jurisdiction, and visited their Friends in and about Salem. It was not long, however, before they were again taken up and imprisoned; as was also Mary Dyer, who, though she had left the State, found her mind drawn to return there, to testify against their unrighteous laws. After some time of confinement, they were brought into court, where John Endicot, the governor, presided; and who, without any prefatory proceedings, immediately passed sentence of death upon them, in these words: "We have made many laws, and endeavoured by several ways to keep you from us; and neither whippings, nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishing upon pain of death, would keep you from amongst us. I desire not your deaths. Give ear and hearken

to your sentence." Here William Robinson interrupted him, and desired liberty to read a paper, showing the reason why he had not departed from that jurisdiction. This reasonable request, however, was refused, and the sentence was proceeded with in these words: "You shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead."

The sentence was then passed on the other two Friends, who seeing it was in vain to attempt to speak, did not offer to make any defence, though Endicot pretended to give liberty to Stevenson, who, after sentence was passed, warned them of the judgments which would come upon them, if they put their wicked sentence in execution, and thus made themselves guilty of shedding innocent blood.

These transactions took place on the 20th of October, 1659, and the execution of those virtuous and pious sufferers, was fixed for the 27th of the same. On the afternoon, the prisoners were taken to the place of execution, guarded by about two hundred armed men. In the procession, drummers were placed immediately before the condemned persons, and when any of them attempted to speak, the drums were beaten to prevent their being heard. Thus did these high pro-

fessors of religion, and pretended lovers of liberty, manifest their want of the most essential qualities of both, in their conduct on this occasion.

During the procession, William Robinson said, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness:" but the drums beating immediately, he did not proceed. When they came to the gallows, John Wilson, a priest, of Boston, attended them. It might be supposed that on this occasion, if he could not afford them any religious consolation, he would at least have administered some exhortation, tending to prepare them for the awful circumstance about to take place; but instead of this, he insulted them with this low language: "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with your hats on?" This occasioned William Robinson to say to the people: "Mind you, mind you; it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death." When he was on the ladder, he thus addressed the people: "We suffer, not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth. This is the day of your visitation, and therefore I desire you to mind the Light of Christ, which is in you, to which I have borne testimony, and am now going to seal my testimony with my blood."

The unfeeling priest here interrupted him, with saying: "Hold thy tongue, be silent; thou art

going to die with a lie in thy mouth." After this, the rope was put about William Robinson's neck, when he said, "Now ye are made manifest;" and being about to be turned off, he thus expressed himself: "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die." After this, Marmaduke Stevenson was executed, and Mary Dyer was reprieved.

But the malice of these wicked religionists, was not fully satisfied with taking away the lives of these innocent sufferers; the dead bodies must also partake of their ill-founded revenge. When they had hung the usual time, they were cut down without any one holding them, and William Robinson's skull was fractured by the fall. The bodies were afterwards stripped naked, and then rolled into a hole, in which they were left uncovered; and when some of their friends would have provided coffins, and given them a decent burial, they were not permitted, nor even suffered to inclose the place with pales, for want of which the wild beasts might have devoured the dead, had not the pit been quickly filled with water. To complete this infamous business, the priest already mentioned gave vent to his unchristian disposition still further, by composing a *Song* on these martyrs for the support of a good conscience, and their faithful testimony against this hypocritical and blood-thirsty people.

Four days before his martyrdom, William Robinson wrote a short epistle which he directed "To the Lord's People."—It manifests so fully the heavenly state of his mind, his love to his friends, and his complete resignation to the sufferings permitted to befal him, that I cannot close this account better than by giving it to the reader. It is as follows:—

"The streams of my Father's love run daily through me, from the *Holy Fountain of Life*, to the seed throughout the whole creation. I am overcome with love, for it is my life and length of my days; it is my glory and my daily strength. I am swallowed up with love; in love I live, and with it I am overcome; and in it I dwell with the Holy Seed, to which the blessing of love is given from God, who is love; who hath shed it abroad in my heart, which daily fills me with living joy from the life from whence it comes.

"Ye children of the living God! feel me when you are waiting in it; when your hearts and minds are gathered into it; when, in the strength of it you are travailing; feel me when it runs from the fountain into your vessel; when it issues gently like new wine into your bosoms; when the strength and power of it you feel: when you are overcome with strength of love, which is God, then feel

me present in the fountain of love, wherein are many mansions. You children of the Lord! feel me wrapt up with you in the pure love, which destroys the love which is in enmity with God, which warreth against the seed that proceedeth from the Father of Love, the God of Truth. Let nothing separate you from this love, which is my life; neither words nor thoughts, nor any thing else, enter betwixt, which is contrary to it, for it will stain the place of its abode. So *dear children*, who are begotten by love into the covenant of life and love, keep daily in it. This is the portion that God hath given to his children to continue in his love, which is the life of the seed, which is raised by the power of the endless love of God in the creature.

"I am full of the quickening power of the Lord Jesus Christ, and my lamp is filled with pure oil, so that it gives a clear light and pleasant smell; and I shall enter with my beloved into eternal rest and peace, wherein I am swallowed up; with the life of it I am filled; and in it I shall depart with everlasting joy in my heart, and praises in my mouth, singing hallelujah unto the Lord, who hath redeemed me by his living power from amongst kindreds, tongues, and nations. And now the day of my departure draweth near, *I have fought a good fight; I have kept the holy faith; I have* near

finished my course; my travailing is near at an end; my testimony is near to be finished, and an eternal crown is laid up for me, and all whose feet are shod with righteousness and the preparation of peace, even such whose names are written in the book of life, wherein I live and rejoice with all the faithful seed for evermore.

"Written by a servant of Jesus Christ.

"WILLIAM ROBINSON."

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF MARMADUKE STEVENSON.

THIS fellow-sufferer with William Robinson, lived at Shipton, near Market-Weighton, in Yorkshire. The earliest account I find of him, is contained in a paper which he published at Boston after sentence of death had been pronounced upon him. It begins thus: "In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at plough in the east part of Yorkshire, in Old England, near the place where my outward being was; and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God, which did ravish my heart when I felt it, for it did increase and abound in me like a living stream: [yea] so did the life and love of God run through me, like precious ointment giving a pleasant smell, which made me to stand still. And as I stood a little still, with my heart and mind stayed upon the Lord, the word of the Lord

came to me in a still small voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me, in the secret of my heart and conscience: "I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations;" and at the hearing of the word of the Lord I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child, for such a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me, immediately by his Spirit, that he would be as an husband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they should not want in my absence, for he would provide for them when I was gone."

Notwithstanding these prospects, he remained under the exercise about three years, not sailing for Barbadoes till the fourth month, 1658. While he was on this island, he was informed of the law made in New England, for putting Friends to death who returned after banishment. On hearing of this law, his mind felt a secret attraction that way; and after he had finished his services in Barbadoes, he sailed for Rhode Island, where he visited his Friends in the love of the gospel. Here, as he relates it, "the word of the Lord came to me, saying, Go to Boston with thy brother William Robinson." With this intimation of duty he complied; the result of which being already

related in the account of William Robinson, it would be superfluous to repeat it. After his companion had suffered, Marmaduke Stevenson stepped up the ladder, and expressed himself thus to the surrounding multitude: "Be it known unto all, this day, that we suffer, not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." And when he was about to be turned off, he said: "This day shall I be at rest with the Lord."

During his confinement, he not only wrote the paper, from which an extract is already made, but also a long Address to the Inhabitants of Shipton, Weighton, and elsewhere, which is entitled, "A Call from Death to Life, and out of the dark Ways and Worships of the World, where the Seed is held in Bondage under the Merchants of Babylon." He, as well as his fellow-sufferer, wrote a letter directed "To the Lord's People;" which showing the state of his mind when the prospect of death, by the hand of an executioner was before him, it may be proper to insert a part of it here; viz.

"Oh! my dear and well beloved ones, who are sealed with me in the holy covenant of our Father's love, my love and life runs out to you all who are chosen of God and faithful; for you are dear unto me, the Lord knows it, and are as seals upon my breast. You *lambs* of my Father's fold, and

sheep of his pasture, the remembrance of you is precious to me, my dearly beloved ones, who are of the holy seed, and bear the right image, which springs from the true vine and offspring of David, and stock of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the redeemed ones, who are reconciled to God and one to another, in that which sea and land cannot separate; where you may feel me knit and joined to you, in the spirit of truth, and linked to you as members of his body; who is our head and rock of sure defence, for us to fly unto; where we are kept safe in the hour of temptation; and in the day of trial shall we be preserved in the hollow of his hand; where his banner of love will be over us, to compass us about; where we shall have recourse to the living springs, which come from the pure fountain and well-spring of life, which issues forth abundantly to refresh the hungry and strengthen the feeble minded; where you may feel me, my beloved ones, in the green pastures, among the lilies of the pleasant springs, where our souls are bathed and refreshed together, with the overcomings of God's love, and the virtue of his presence, which is as *precious ointment poured forth, giving a pleasant smell.*

"So my *dear Friends!* let us always wait at the altar of the Lord, to see the table spread; that so we may sit down and eat together, and be refreshed with the *hidden manna,* and living food of life, that comes from Him who is our life, our peace, our strength, and our Preserver night and day. O! my beloved ones! let us all go on in his strength, who is our Prince and Saviour, that his image we may bear, who is meek and lowly in heart, and mind the true and sure foundation of many generations, the chief *Corner Stone, elect and precious;* the *Rock of Ages* on which the Saints were built; and if we all abide thereon, we shall never be moved, but stand for ever as trees of righteousness, rooted and grounded in Him, who will be with us in all our trials and temptations which we may meet withall; and here will the Lord our God be honoured by us all that are faithful unto death: we shall assuredly have a crown of life which will never be taken from us.

"Oh! my *beloved ones,* what shall I say unto you, who drink with me at the living fountain, where we are nourished and brought up as twins, at the *breasts of consolation;* where I do embrace you in the bond of peace which never will be broken. O! feel me and read me in your hearts; for I am filled with love when I think upon you, and broken into tears; for the remembrance of you doth refresh my sonl, which makes me often to think upon you, and have you in remembrance, you *jewels* of my Father, and *first fruits* of his increase.

If I forget you, then let the Lord forget me. Nay, verily, you cannot be forgotten by me: so long as I abide in the vine, I am a branch of the same nature with you, which springs from the same nature which the Lord hath blessed, where we do grow together in his life and image, as members of his body; where we shall live together to all eternity, and sit down in the kingdom of rest and peace, with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,* to sing the songs of deliverance to the Most High that sits on the throne, who alone is worthy of all honour and living praise, to whom it is due now and for ever. AMEN."

CHAPTER V.

LIFE OF MARY DYER.

CONCERNING Mary Dyer, whose reprieve has been already noticed, I find but little account except what relates to her sufferings at Boston.

She was a married woman, and lived in Rhode Island, where she bore an excellent character. She was the mother of several children, and her husband was a man of reputation and respectability; but not of the same religious persuasion. After her companions had received the judgment of the court, sentence of death was also passed on her, to which she replied: "The will of the Lord be done." Endicot then ordered the marshal to take her away to the prison, when she said: "Yea, joyfully I go;" and in her way there, she was engaged in uttering praises to God. She was indeed full of joy in the Holy Spirit, and told the marshal that he might let her alone, for she would go to prison without him; to which he replied:

"I believe you, Mrs. Dyer; but I must do what I am commanded." Whilst in prison, she wrote to the General Court in Boston, remonstrating closely with them on the subject of their bloody laws.

After her fellow-prisoners, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, had suffered, she stepped up the ladder, expecting immediately to undergo the same punishment. Her clothes were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, with which Priest Wilson supplied the hangman. But after all this preparation was made, a cry was heard: "Stop, for she is reprieved." This appears to have been no tidings of joy to her, for her mind had entered into so full a resignation to the prospect of death, that she seemed already participating of the joys of that eternity which appeared then before her. When her feet were loosed, and she had liberty given her to come down, she continued where she was, and told those about her, that she was there willing to suffer as her brethren had done, except they would annull their wicked law. She was at length forced away and taken back to her prison. This reprieve was owing to the intercession of her son, to whom it seems the magistrates durst not then deny that favour.

The day after her reprieve, she again addressed the General Court, at Boston. The address shows the fortitude of her mind, and the deep sense which she entertained of the cruel disposition of her persecutors. It begins thus: "Once more to the General Court assembled in Boston speaks Mary Dyer, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the lives and liberty of the truth and servants of the living God, for which in the bowels of love and meekness I sought you; yet nevertheless with wicked hands have you put two of them to death, which makes me to feel that the mercies of the wicked is cruelty. I rather choose to die than live as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood. Therefore, seeing my request is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge and Searcher of all hearts."

By her reprieve, it was directed that she should continue in prison forty-eight hours; after which it appears she was put on a horse and conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode Island, and was then left with a man and horse to be conveyed forward; but she sent them back, and went home without their assistance. After residing here and on Long Island for several months, she again apprehended it her duty to visit the town of Boston. She accordingly returned there on the 21st of the 3d

month, 1660, and ten days afterwards was summoned before the General Court, where, after a few interrogatories, Endicot passed this sentence upon her: "You must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead." On this Mary Dyer remarked: "This is no more than what thou saidst before;" to which Endicot replied: "But now it is to be executed, therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o'clock."

She then addressed the Court in these words: "I came in obedience to the will of God the last General Court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death, and the same is my work now and earnest request; although I told you that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them."

After a little more conversation, she was ordered to be taken to prison, and about the time appointed next morning, the marshal came in a hasty, rough manner to take her to the place of execution, to which she was led by a band of soldiers, and with drums beating before and behind, to prevent her being heard if she should say any thing to the people. The gallows were about a mile distant

from the prison. When she came there, and had ascended the ladder, she was told, that if she would return she might come down and save her life, to which she replied: "Nay, I cannot; for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death."

She was then charged with being guilty of her own blood; on which she replied: "Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it; but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I stand even to death."

Some more conversation passed between her and her persecutors; and when one mentioned her saying, she had been in Paradise, she replied: "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days." It appears that her mind was now in the same situation as on going to the place of execution before, when, in replying to some insulting language, she said: "This is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear; no tongue can utter; and no heart can un-

derstand the sweet incomes, and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which I now feel."

Other expressions now dropped from her, descriptive of the happy state of her mind in the prospect of that eternity into which she was about entering. In this state she was turned off, and died a martyr for Christ, and for her testimony against persecution and persecutors. Her conduct on this occasion, with her addresses to the court, evince her to have been a woman of good abilities, great fortitude, and pious resignation to the will of God.

The state of mind in which she twice met the prospect of death, manifests the hope she entertained of a glorious immortality, into which there is abundant reason to believe she happily entered, experiencing the truth of the Apostle's observation, that "these light afflictions which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

CHAPTER VI.

LIFE OF WILLIAM LEDDRA.

FOR the sake of connecting the accounts of these New England martyrs, I shall digress a little, and but a little, from chronological order, in my notice of William Leddra. He was an inhabitant of the island of Barbadoes. In the year 1658, he came to New England, and, at Newbury, he and his companion William Brend, were forced out of the town, and conveyed to Salem, where they were examined by the magistrates. After acknowledging themselves to be of the People called Quakers, it was objected to them that they maintained dangerous errors; and when they asked what these errors were, they were told that they denied Christ who suffered on the cross at Jerusalem, and that they denied the Scriptures. This charge they boldly contradicted, asserting that they owned Jesus Christ who suffered death at Jerusalem, and that they also owned the Scriptures. Notwithstanding this declaration, they were ar-

rested, sent to Boston, and committed to the house of correction there, only because they were found to be Quakers.

As they would not work for the benefit of the jailer, he kept them five days without food, though they offered to pay for it. After this privation, he inflicted upon them twenty stripes with a whip. When this severity had been exercised, he told them that if they would pay the marshal for leading them out of the country, they might go; but they, considering it unreasonable to pay for their own banishment, refused, yet offered to go away if the prison doors were opened to them for that purpose. With this the jailer did not think proper to comply, and the next day exercised his cruel disposition on William Brend, in such a shocking manner as produced much discontent and a great clamour in the town.

William Leddra continued for some time in the house of correction at Boston, where he was frequently whipped, but at length was discharged. He was also imprisoned at Plymouth, and ultimately banished from the colony, on pain of death if he should return to it. Where he went after his banishment I do not find; but he did not continue long absent, feeling his mind strongly impressed with an apprehension of duty again to

visit these persecuting people, and those who suffered from them. Returning to Boston, though almost certain of the consequences which would ensue, he was there arrested, sent to jail, fastened to a log of wood, and kept chained night and day, in an open prison, during a very cold winter.

In the first month, 1660-1, he was brought before the Court of Assistants, with the chain and log at his heels. Being placed at the bar, he was informed, that having returned after sentence of banishment, he had incurred the penalty of death by the law. Upon this he asked them what evil he had done? To which the court replied, he had owned those who were put to death, and had said that they were innocent; that he had refused to put off his hat in court, and would say *thee and thou*. He then asked them if they would put him to death for speaking English and for not putting off his clothes. To this Major Dennison answered, A man may speak treason in English. On which William Leddra asked: "Is it treason to say thee and thou to a single person?"

I have given this conversation at length, to show the light charges which these persecutors brought against those, on whom they inflicted the punishment of death. The hat had given great offence in some of the former sufferers, and it was even

thrown in the teeth of one of them, at the place of execution. But to what a degree of pride must the minds of these men have attained, who could persecute, as many have done, innocent and virtuous men, because they withheld this mark of respect, and addressed individuals in the singular number; language which they themselves used to their Maker. Surely it was high time that these corrupt and pride-gratifying practices should be checked; and though the testimony against them may be classed among the lesser matters of the law of our God, yet I believe when duly considered, it will be found to be *a duty* which is called for from us as a people.

To return to the subject of this Memoir. After a little more conversation between him and his persecutors, he said: "I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; if by them I am found guilty, I refuse not to die." This appeal, however, was rejected, and the Court attempted to persuade him to a recantation and compliance with their will; but this attempt he rejected with disdain, saying: "What! to join with such murderers as you are! Then let every man that meets me say: "Lo! this is the man that has forsaken the God of his salvation."

The court, finding their prisoner steadfast and immovable, passed sentence of death upon him,

and appointed the 14th of the month for the execution of their sentence. A morning lecture was also appointed on the same day, in which the priest was not backward to animate the magistrates, in the execution of their cruel sentence.

When this shocking preamble to the execution of an unchristian and wicked law was finished, the governor came to the prison with a guard of soldiers; the prisoner's irons were knocked off, and he, after taking a solemn leave of his fellow-prisoners, cheerfully went forth when called. The guard instantly surrounded him, to prevent any of his friends coming near to speak to him; at which one of his friends, Edward Wharton, said to them: "What! will ye show yourselves worse than Bonner's bloody brood? Will you not let me come near my suffering friend before you kill him?" To this one of the company replied: "Oh! Edward! it will be your turn next;" and an officer threatened to stop his mouth, if he spoke another word.

The procession being come to the place of execution, William Leddra took leave of his friend, Edward Wharton, and said to him: "All that will be Christ's disciples must take up his cross." Then standing on the place where the guard directed him, he said to the people: "For

bearing my testimony to the Lord against the deceivers and deceived, am I brought here to suffer." When the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he meekly said: "I commend my righteous cause unto thee, O God!" and as he was turned off, he cried out: "Lord Jesus! receive my spirit."

Thus did this innocent martyr, patiently suffer under the cruel laws of men, who appeared to be insensible to all the compunctions that either justice or mercy excite in the human heart. The state of his mind under his sufferings, was such as became a christian; and his spiritual enjoyments, previous to his death, evince such a participation of the beatific vision while in the body, as is not often experienced, as will appear from the following extract from a letter, written the day before his death, and addressed,

"To the Society of the little Flock of Christ."

"Grace and peace be multiplied.

"Most dear and inwardly beloved!

"The sweet influences of the morning star, like a flood, distilling into my innocent habitation, have so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up

in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

"Alas! alas! what can the wrath aud spirit of man that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the seerets of the Almighty, or unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace? Under whose armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial; having on the breastplate of righteousness and the sword of the Spirit, which is their weapon of war against spiritual wickedness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without.

"Oh! my beloved! I have waited like a dove at the windows of the ark; and have stood still in that watch which the Master, without whom I could do nothing, did at his coming reward with the fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might, in the love and life of God, speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savour of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death. And if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocence

with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is of God, with whom and in whose presence there is life; in which as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth. For the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for to every thing there is a season.

"As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his Divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, that many can say they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them; in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without Him."

He then proceeds in a strain of instructive exhortation to his friends; but what is already quoted may be sufficient to manifest the desirable state of mind, which he experienced on this solemn occasion.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF THOMAS ALDAM.

THIS Friend was one of the earliest converts of George Fox in the county of York. His mother, wife, and two sisters, were all convinced about the same time. This was in 1651. His residence was at Warmsworth, near Doncaster, where I suppose him to have been born; but in what year I have not been able to ascertain.

Previous to his knowledge of George Fox, he appears to have been a man religiously disposed, and was much attached to some of the ministers of that day, I suppose those called Puritans, who at that time, having overturned Episcopacy, took possession of the places of public worship and the livings of their predecessors. With these, however, he became dissatisfied, for he aspired after a greater degree of light and purity than he had yet

met with. Such was his condition, when George Fox came into the neighbourhood of his residence, through whose ministry he was effectually turned from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God.

The doctrine of a principle of Divine Light, or the Spirit of Christ illuminating the soul, and opening to it the way of life and salvation, was readily acknowledged by him; through which he was drawn from a dependance on his former teachers, separated from the ways of the world, and himself qualified to bear a living testimony to the truth, inviting others to "taste and see how good the Lord is."

In his ministerial labours, he was not only exercised in the meetings of his Friends, but often attended the public places of worship, where he was frequently concerned to speak of the things of God, and at times to testify against the conduct both of the priests and people. He was thus engaged at Warmsworth, Hatfield, Wickersley, Edlington, Tickhill, Bawtry, Thorne, Handsworth, Rossington, and Pontefract. In almost all these places he met with very rude, severe treatment; but at Thorne, when the priest ordered the constable to take out that rude and uncivil fellow, who came so uncivilly in and made a disturbance; the constable being of a different spirit from the priest, replied: "He disturbeth no man, nor doth any man harm." After the priest had finished his sermon, Thomas Aldam preached to the people. Some of the rude sort, after the example of their priest, reviled him; and, not content with words, proceeded to blows, both with their hands and feet, and even spit upon him, turning him out of their church, as they called it. This may serve as rather a favourable specimen of the treatment, which he generally met with on these occasions.

About the year 1652, in consequence of a concern of this kind at Warmsworth, he was committed to York Castle by Darcy Wentworth, John Copley, George Byard, and Thomas Westby, justices. It is likely he was the first Friend who was a prisoner in that place for his religious principles, and he was continued a prisoner about two years and a half; during which time he was not only prevented from visiting his family, but his wife and relations frequently were not suffered to visit him.

During this long imprisonment, he was brought to trial before Judge Parker; but Thomas Aldam not paying the judge the usual compliment of taking off the hat, and likewise addressing him in the singular number, with some remonstrances on

his conduct, the judge fined him forty pounds, and committed him to prison with an order for him to be kept close prisoner till he paid it; but, on application to Oliver Cromwell, an order was given for his liberation. He bore his long confinement with much patience, under a sense of the Lord's goodness to him; and he had many opportunities of religious service, and of remonstrating with the judges and justices, on the sufferings which they imposed on an innocent people.

Besides this imprisonment, he also suffered much in his property for not paying tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. So great was the enmity of the priest of Warmsworth, that after all his cows had been taken from him, and he had borrowed one of a relation to supply his family with milk, the cruel priest threatened to take that away also. This priest, however, was reduced to poverty, his own children prodigally spending his property, and he himself died suddenly.

Though Thomas Aldam was a great sufferer, both in body and property, on account of his religious principles, yet his feelings were not confined to himself, but were extended to his suffering Friends, in various parts of the nation; for whose relief he travelled much in England, Scotland, and Ireland, visiting them in their prisons, and laying

their distressing situations before those in authority. It was on one of these occasions, when applying to Oliver Cromwell, that he took off his cap before the Protector, and tore it to pieces, saying: "So shall thy government be torn from thee and thy house." This prediction he just lived to see fulfilled, dying in the year 1660.

In his last illness, he experienced much inward support and resignation to the event. At one time he felt his strength so renewed, that he thought he could go to London, if required; but soon added: "I am clear of the blood of all men; I feel nothing to this man," meaning Charles the Second, who was then just restored to his crown. The day before he died, he called his children together, and after giving them some advice, took his leave of them, and the next day resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator.

From the character I find given of this Friend, he appears to have been possessed of many excellent qualities. He was a man of great courage and firmness of mind, and being fully dedicated to the service of God and the support of his religious principles, he laboured and suffered much in that day of violence and persecution. Whilst his testimony was sharp against evil-doers, he was very tender towards those in whom he discovered sin-

cere desires towards God and the knowledge of his truth. He was a man of universal charity, manifesting a disposition to do good unto all men, and thus showing forth the praise of Him who had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light.

In his own family, to use the words of his son, "He was often very broken hearted, watching over his children in the fear of the Lord. And when I remember the fervency of spirit which did attend him, and how, when he had been to take a journey on Truth's account, he would have called his wife and children, and in great tenderness and humility have bowed his knees before the Lord, and poured out his supplications unto Him, desiring earnestly that the Lord might go with him, and committing us into his keeping; and what brokenness of heart was amongst us at such times, and how the love of God did abound, then can my soul say, those were precious seasons, and are not to be forgotten by us; but to be recorded to posterity, that we may tell our children, and they also may declare it when we are gone, how good the Lord hath been unto his people, and what great cause they have to love Him, and put their trust in Him; that so his name may be renowned amongst our families, so long as they shall have a being."

It has already been noticed, that Thomas Aldam's mother, wife, and two sisters, were all convinced by George Fox. Of the mother I find no further notice. His wife survived him only about three months: she was a religious woman, "of a very meek and quiet spirit, given up in all things to God's disposing."

The two sisters, Margaret Kellam and Joan Kellam, continued faithful to the convictions they had received, and were both serviceable women in the Society. Margaret travelled much in Truth's service, and many were convinced by her. She suffered imprisonment in several places, as Exeter, Banbury, and York. "Great," says her nephew, "was the boldness that did attend her, in sounding forth the truth, in the streets, steeple-houses, and market-places, and to the heads and rulers of the people; and the Lord was with her. She finished her course in the faith, signifying to a near relation, before her departure, the great peace she enjoyed with the Lord, and the clearness of conscience she had before him." She died in the year 1672.

Joan Kellam died in the year 1681, having been a very useful woman, and of much religious experience, by which she became as a mother in Israel, and a tender sympathizer with those who

were in a state of suffering, whether in body or in mind.

These accounts are principally taken from a publication by Thomas Aldam, son of him whose life has just been noticed. The son appears to have been a very useful member of the Society of Friends, but I find little on record relating to him. George Fox, in a testimony respecting the father, calls the son "a hopeful young man;" and it is probable before I come in the order of my work to the time of his decease, something may be found concerning him deserving of further notice.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF JAMES NAYLER.

HE was born in the parish of Ardsley, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, about the year 1616. His father was a husbandman of good repute and property. He gave his son a good English education, who married about the time of his removal into the parish of Wakefield. When the civil wars broke out, he entered into the Parliament's army, first under Lord Fairfax, and afterwards as quarter-master, under Major-General Lambert. He continued in the army about eight years, when being disabled by sickness in Scotland, he returned home about the year 1649.

In 1651, George Fox visited that part of Yorkshire where James Nayler resided, and he with many others attached themselves unto him. He appears to have been one of those who had imbibed, previous to their acquaintance with George

Fox, the same religious principles, and therefore gladly received his testimony.

Soon after this, he apprehended himself called to leave his family and devote himself to the service of God. Of this he gives a particular account in his trial at Appleby, of which this is the substance: "That when he was at plough, meditating on the things of God, he heard a voice bidding him go out from his kindred and his father's house, having a promise given with it, that the Lord would be with him." At this he did exceedingly rejoice, that he had heard the voice of God, whom he had believed in from a child, and whom he endeavoured to serve. When he went home, he made preparation for his journey; but being afterwards disobedient, the wrath of God, he says, was upon him, so that he was made a wonder to others, and it was thought he would have died; but being afterwards made willing, and going out with a friend, not then thinking on a journey, he was commanded to go Westward, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came, it was given him what to declare. Thus he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; yet the promise of God, that he would be with him, he found made good to him every day.

It appears that he first travelled into Lancashire, where we find him with George Fox in the Island of Walney, a fellow-sufferer in the cruelty of the barbarous inhabitants of that place. He was also a party in the trial at Lancaster Sessions, related in the life of George Fox. James Nayler afterwards travelled into Westmorland; and at Kendal and the neighbourhood, received some rude treatment from the priests and people; but they were not permitted to injure him or his companions.

At Orton, where he and several Friends designed to hold a religious meeting, five priests and many people assembled to make disturbance, and prevent the meeting being held. The priests invited James and his friends to hold the meeting in the town field, and they accepted the offer, seeing that a private house was not sufficient to accommodate the numbers collected. Here the priests began to dispute on the impropriety of meeting there, and collecting so many people together to break the peace. Much wrangling succeeded, after which James returned to the house of one of his friends, where the meeting was held, though with much disturbance from the rude people, who were collected for the purpose of mischief; no material injury was, however, sustained, and that evening James left the place, and thus for the present escaped the fury of his enemies.

The priests in this country appear to have been uncommonly violent and cruel. Not content with preaching against Nayler, and imputing to him blasphemy, with other false accusations, they raised an armed multitude, who came to the house where he was, threatening to knock out his brains against the wall, or to pull down the house if he would not come out; and when they were told that the doors were open, the people, informing the priests, rushed violently into the house, seized James Nayler by the throat, dragged him into the field, and afterwards with a pitchfork struck off his hat, commanding him to answer such questions as the priests should ask him. They put many questions to him, which he answered so well, that they could not take any advantage from them to prosecute him. After much wrangling, one of the priests advised the people not to receive James Nayler into their houses, and then departed, leaving him and his friends to the violence of the rude multitude. But a justice of the peace who was present, seeing the dangerous situation in which the Friends were placed, kindly assisted them in returning to the house from which they came, which they entered without receiving much harm.

On this occasion, James was publicly engaged to praise the Lord, for his wonderful deliverance from the power of his enemies, which some of

them hearing, said: "If we let him go on thus, all people will run after him." He was therefore again haled out of the house, taken by the justice and priest to a neighbouring alehouse, and there committed to Appleby jail. He was taken to Kirkby Stephen that night, where many of his friends followed him; and Francis Howgill, speaking to the people, was also taken up, and committed to Appleby prison with James Nayler.

Whilst these innocent sufferers were in jail, their enemies were busily employed in obtaining all the accusations they could against them; and at the sessions held at Appleby, in the month called January, 1652, James Nayler was tried on an indictment for blasphemy. This charge was occasioned by the doctrine preached, and particularly insisted on by our early Friends, that of the Light of Christ universally communicated to the human race. This they termed, with the Apostle of the Gentiles, "Christ in you the Hope of Glory; and further illustrated with an exhortation of the same Apostle: "Prove yourselves, know ye not your ownselves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."

This doctrine the enemies of the Society endeavoured to convert into a blasphemous application of Christ to themselves; but notwithstanding the

strenuous endeavours of some of the justices, the charge could not be substantiated; and Anthony Pearson, who then sat on the bench, was convinced by the examination of James Nayler. Benson was another of the justices, and was fully sensible of the insufficiency of the evidence to prove the charge of blasphemy; but notwithstanding the evident innocence of the prisoner, two other justices were so violent as to commit him upon the petitions of the ministers, though at the hazard of being fined by the judges at the assizes. It was therefore ordered that James Nayler and Francis Howgill should remain in prison, where they were arbitrarily confined about five months, and then discharged.

After his liberation, James continued some time in the North; and when he had finished his service there, he travelled Southward, and came to London in the year 1654 or 5. Here began those temptations of self-exaltation and spiritual pride, which for a time separated him from his brethren, and subjected him to severe bodily sufferings, from those who were then in power.

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at that time in the city, and great success attended their ministry. With them James Nayler united, and his gift being of a very sublime and captivating kind, as well as deep and sound, he became much admired and followed by many of those who heard him, some of whom were so injudicious and weak as to draw invidious comparisons between him and his brethren. This proceeded so far, that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were sometimes interrupted in their religious services, by the pretended friends of James Nayler. A woman of the name of Martha Simmons, was the principal in this improper conduct; and when reproved for it, she made her complaint to James Nayler in so lamentable and moving a manner, that he was carried away with her reflections on his best friends and fellow-labourers in the same gospel.

When his indiscreet followers had so far prevailed, as in a great measure to separate him from his former friends, they proceeded to greater lengths of wild and extravagant conduct. Leaving London, he travelled as far as Exeter, where it appears he was committed to prison; and during his confinement here, Martha Simmons, with other two women alike reprehensible as herself, proceeded so far in their extravagance as to bow and kneel before him, and to kiss his feet. Nor did they stop here, but both he and they became so darkened in their imaginations, that after his release from Exeter prison, he permitted these

women and a man, to act the most extravagant conduct towards him. The man went bareheaded before him, a woman led his horse, the three women, already noticed, spread their scarfs and handkerchiefs before him, while a number of persons in company sung, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Hosts, Hosannah in the highest. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Israel."

When they came to Bristol, James Nayler and several of his company, were examined by the magistrates on account of their extravagant conduct, and afterwards committed to prison. From Bristol they were removed to London, to be examined by the Parliament, or a Committee of the House. The attention of Parliament was occupied many days on the subject, and much diversity of sentiment prevailed on the punishment proper to be inflicted.

On the 17th of December, 1656, after a long debate, the House came to the following resolution: "That James Nayler be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory in the Palace Yard, Westminster, during the space of two hours, on Thursday next, and be whipt by the hangman through the streets, from Westminster to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewise be set on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the

space of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one on Saturday next; in each place wearing a paper containing an inscription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and he be there also stigmatized in the forehead with the letter B. And that he be afterwards sent to Bristol, and be conveyed through the said city on horseback, with his face backward, and there also be publicly whipt the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence he be committed to prison in Bridewell, London, and restrained from the society of all people, and there to labour hard till he shall be released by Parliament; and during that time be debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and shall have no relief, but what he earns by his daily labour."

I do not find that any punishment was inflicted on those to whom the charge of blasphemy most properly belonged; for though Nayler was certainly highly culpable in permitting such conduct towards him; yet it might be considered, that, in the eye of the law, those who behaved in so improper a manner, were the guilty persons. Indeed many people thought that the sentence was a very severe one to be executed upon a person, whose crime seemed to proceed more from a clouded understanding, than from any evil intention.

The day after the sentence was pronounced, the first part of it was put in execution, and borne with so much patience and quietness, as was astonishing to the beholders. His body was in a most pitiable state, and in addition to the three hundred and ten stripes which he received on his body, his feet were much hurt by the horses treading on them, so that the prints of their shoe nails were visible. A person who washed his wounds, in a certificate which was presented to Parliament, thus describes his situation: "There was not the space of a man's nail free from stripes and blood, from his shoulder near to his waist; his right arm sorely striped, his hands so much hurt with cords, that they bled and were swelled. The blood and wounds of his back did very little appear at first sight, by reason of the abundance of dirt that covered them till it was washed off."

Many people, not of the Society of Friends, were so affected with the severity of this punishment, that application was made to Parliament for a postponement of the rest of the sentence, which was to take place only two days after the first part was executed. This request was granted, and a week's respite obtained, which was employed in further applications, first to the Parliament, and afterwards to the Protector, for a total remission of the rest of the sentence. Five ministers, whose names were Caryl, Monton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, were sent to converse with Nayler; but though he gave such explanations as might free him from the charge of blasphemy, yet his understanding appears to have been still much clouded, and he far from being sufficiently sensible of the great impropriety of those extravagant expressions, which were used towards him, and which he considered as only applied to Christ, who, according to his principles, was in him.

Notwithstanding the earnest applications which were made, it was concluded to inflict the remaining part of the sentence, with the intermission of only one week. Accordingly, on the 27th, he was taken to the Exchange, where he was put into the pillory, his tongue bored through, and his forehead branded, with a hot iron. It was very remarkable, that although many thousands of people were supposed to be present, great quietness prevailed, and very few were heard to revile him, or seen to throw any thing at him. One general sympathy appears to have been excited by his cruel punishment, for admitting the worst on his part, it may certainly be considered as exhibiting a specimen of the harsh and unfeeling temper, which so generally marked those times.

After the execution of his sentence in London, he was sent to Bristol, and the remainder of his sentence was executed there. He was then committed to Newgate in that City, and thence returned to Bridewell in London, where he was kept a prisoner for about two years. During this imprisonment, he was favoured with a deep sense of his transgressions, and also with a true repentance for them; and having obtained the use of pen and ink, he wrote several books and papers, condemning his conduct in very feeling terms; to which he added several more after his release from Bridewell.

The following pieces extracted from these publications, will no doubt be acceptable to the reader.

1st, A Testimony to Christ Jesus, delivered to the Parliament who persecuted him as a Blasphemer, written in the time of his imprisonment in Bridewell. See James Nayler's Works, Introduction, page xxxv.

2d & 3d, Two short papers of Confessions, &c. taken out of his own hand-writing, page xxv & vi.—*Ibid.*

4th, Beginning "Glory to God Almighty," page li. &c.—*Ibid.*

5th, "And in the day when my God lifted my feet out of the pit was this given forth," page xlix. *Ibid.*

No. 1. A Testimony to Christ Jesus, &c.

"Christ Jesus the *Immanuel*, of whose sufferings the Scriptures declare, Him alone I confess before men, for whose sake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him and not in myself; whose life and virtue I find daily manifest in my mortal body; (which is my eternal joy and hope of glory;) whom alone I seek to serve in spirit, soul and body, night and day, according to the measure of grace working in me, that in me he may be glorified whether by life or death; and for his sake I suffer all things, that He alone may have the glory of my change, whose work alone it is in me. Even to that Eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb, for ever.

"But to ascribe this name, power, and virtue to *James Nayler*, or to that which had a beginning and must return to dust, or for that to be exalted or worshipped, to me is great idolatry; and with the Spirit of Christ Jesus in me it is condemned; which Spirit leads to lowliness, meekness, and long-suffering.

"So having an opportunity given, with readiness, I am willing in the fear of God the Father, in

honour to Jesus Christ, and to take off all offences from every simple heart, this to declare to all the world, as the truth of Christ is in me, without guile or deceit, daily finding it to be my work to seek peace in truth, with all men, in that Spirit.

"JAMES NAYLER."

No. 2 & 3. TWO SHORT PAPERS, &c.

"Dear Brethren,

"My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occasioned to God's truth and people, and especially to you, who in dear love followed me, seeking me in faithfulness to God; which I rejected, being bound wherein I could not come forth, till God's hand brought me, to whose love I now confess; and I beseech you forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my sorrow for it since I see it, that ever I should offend that of God in any, or reject his counsel; and now that paper you have seen lies much upon me, and I greatly fear further to offend or do amiss, whereby the innocent truth or people

of God should suffer, or that I should disobey therein.

"Unless the Lord himself keep you from me, I beseech you let nothing else hinder your coming to me, that I might have your help in the Lord. In the mercies of Jesus Christ, this I beg of you, as if it was your own case, let me not be forgotten of you.

"And I beseech you speak to *Henry Clarke*, or whoever else I have most offended; and by the power of God, and in the Spirit of Christ Jesus, I am willing to confess the offence; that God's love may arise in all hearts as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what stands in the way; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover. God is witness herein."

"Dear Friend,

"I would not grieve thee, nor any way offend the people of the Lord, who is my witness of the daily sorrow and travail of my soul, for the offences which have been already, and that the peace of any should be broken through me who are dear

to me; and nothing have I in this world near in my heart, but his innocent people, whom he hath called out of the world; and I cannot trouble you but I oppress my own life; the Lord God of Peace rebuke him, who daily seeks to turn the simplicity out of its way; who hath long withstood me, and doth withstand me. Truly my heart dreads for fear of more divisions, gladly would I see thy face, if it be the will of God; my bowels earn in unfeigned love towards thee. God knows I lie not; and in the spirit of meekness I know thou wilt feel me in truth. And whatever the Lord, in any of you, shall lay upon me, I am willing to suffer or do, that all breaches may be removed from the just.

"JAMES NAYLER."

No. 4.

"Glory to God Almighty who ruleth in the heavens; and in whose hands are all the kingdoms of the earth; who raiseth up and casteth down at his will; who hath ways to confound the exaltation of man, and to chastize his children; and to make man to know himself to be as grass before him, whose judgments are above the highest

of men, and his pity reacheth the deepest misery; and the arm of his mercy is underneath to lift up the prisoner out of the pit, and to save such as trust in Him from the great destruction, which vain man, through his folly, brings on himself; who hath delivered my soul out of darkness, and made way for my freedom out of the prison-house, and ransomed me from the great captivity; who divides the seas before him, and removes the mountains out of his way, in the day when he takes upon him to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of him, that is too mighty for him, in the earth. Let his name be exalted for ever; and let all flesh fear before Him whose breath is life to His own; but a consuming fire to the adversary.

"And to the Lord Jesus Christ, be everlasting dominion upon earth, and his kingdom above all the powers of darkness, even that Christ of whom the Scriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the light of the world to all generations; of whose coming I testify, with the rest of the children of light, begotten of the immortal Seed, whose truth and virtue now shine in the world unto the righteousness of eternal life, and the Saviour of all that believe therein; who hath been the rock of my salvation, and his Spirit hath given quietness and patience to my soul in deep

affliction, even for his name's sake. Praises for ever.

"But condemned for ever be all those false worships, with which any have idolized my person, in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkness was above. All their casting off the clothes in the way, their bowings and singings, and all the rest of those wild actions, which did any way tend to dishonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the measure of Christ Jesus in themselves, to look at flesh which is grass, or to ascribe that to the visible which belongs to Christ Jesus; *all that* I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath any way been blasphemed through me, in that time of temptation, or the spirits of any people grieved that truly love the Lord Jesus, throughout the whole world, of what sort soever.

"And all those ranting, wild spirits, which then gathered about me, in the time of my darkness; and all their wild actions, and wicked words against the honour of God, and his pure Spirit and people: I deny the spirit, the power and the works thereof, and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil spirit in any to arise, I take shame to myself justly, having formerly had power over that spirit in judgment

and discerning, wherever it was; which darkness came over me through want of watchfulness and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligent minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous spirit. So the adversary got advantage, who ceases not to seek to devour, and being taken captive from the true light, [I] walked in the night, where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for the prey; and if the Lord of all my mercies had not rescued me, I had perished; for I was as one appointed to death and destruction; and there was none that could deliver me.

"And this I confess, that God may be justified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end; who did not forsake his captive in the night, even when his Spirit was daily provoked and grieved; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confess to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day; yet was there many things formed against me at that day, to take away my life, and cast upon the truth, of which I am not guilty at all; as that accusation as if I had committed adultery with some of those women who came with us from *Exeter* prison; and also those who were with me at *Bristol*, the night before I suffered there. Of both which accusations I am clear before God, who kept me at that day, both in thought and

deed, as to all women, as a little child. God is my record. And this I mention in particular, hearing of some who still cease not to reproach therewith, God's truth and people; that the mouth of enmity may be shut from evil-speaking, though this touch not my conscience.

"And this I give forth, that it may go as far as the offence against the spirit of truth hath gone abroad, that all burthens may be taken off with the truth, and the truth cleared thereby, and the true light and all that walk therein; and the deeds of darkness be condemned; and that all that are in darkness may not act in the night, but stay upon God who dwells in the light, who, with the workers of iniquity, hath not fellowship; which had I done, when first darkness came upon me, and not been led by others, I had not run against that rock to be broken, which so long had borne me, and of whom I had so largely drunken, and of which I now drink in measure; to whom be the glory of all, and to Him must every tongue confess, as Judge and Saviour, God over all, blessed for ever.

"JAMES NAYLER."

No. 5. *And in that day when my God lifted my feet out of the pit, was this given forth.*

"It is in my heart to praise thee, Oh my God! Let me never forget Thee, what thou hast been to me in the night, by thy presence. In the day of trial, when I was beset in darkness, when I was cast out as a wandering bird, when I was assaulted with strong temptations, then thy presence in secret did preserve me; and in a low estate I felt thee near me. When the floods sought to sweep me away, thou set a compass for them, how far they should pass over; when my way was through the sea, and when I passed under the mountains, there was thou present with me. When the weight of the hills was upon me, thou upheldest me, else had I sunk under the earth. When I was as one altogether helpless; when tribulation and anguish was upon me day and night, and the earth without foundation; when I went on the way of wrath, and passed by the gates of hell; when all comforts stood afar off, and he that is mine enemy had dominion; when I was cast into the pit, and was as one appointed to death; when I was between the millstones, and as one crushed with the weight of his adversary, as a Father thou wast with me, and the rock of thy presence. When the mouths of lions roared against me, and fear took hold of my soul in the pit, then I called upon thee in

the night, and my cries were strong before thee daily, who answeredst me from thy habitation, and deliveredst me from thy dwelling place; saying, *I will set thee above all thy fears, and lift up thy feet above the head of oppression.*

"I believed and was strengthened, and thy word was salvation. Thou didst fight on my part when I wrestled with death; and when darkness would have shut me up, then thy light shone about me, and thy banner was over my head. When my work was in the furnace, and as I passed through the fire, by thee I was not consumed, though the flames ascended above my head. When I beheld the dreadful visions, and was amongst the fiery spirits, thy faith stayed me; else through fear I had fallen. I saw thee and believed; so the enemy could not prevail.

"When I look back into thy works, I am astonished; and see no end of thy praises. Glory, glory, to thee, saith my soul; and let my heart be ever filled with thanksgiving. Whilst thy works remain, they shall show forth thy power. Then didst thou lay the foundation of the earth, and ledst me under the waters; and in the deep didst thou show me wonders, and the forming of the world. By thy hand thou ledst me in safety till thou showedst me the pillars of the earth. Then

did the heavens shower down; they were covered with darkness and the powers thereof were shaken, and thy glory descended. Thou filledst the lower parts of the earth with gladness, and the springs of the valleys were opened. Thy showers descended abundantly; so the earth was filled with virtue. Thou madest thy plant to spring, and the thirsty soul became as a watered garden. Then didst thou lift me out of the pit, and set me forth in the sight of my enemies. Thou proclaimedst liberty to the captives, and calledst my acquaintance near me. They to whom I had been a wonder looked upon me; and, in thy love, I obtained favour in those who had forsook me. Then did gladness swallow up sorrow, and I forsook all my troubles; and I said how good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may know his folly; that every mouth may become silent in thy hand, until thou makest man known to himself, and hast slain the boaster, and showed him the vanity that vexeth thy Spirit."

Printed A. D. 1659.

The foregoing papers must convince every unprejudiced person, of the sincerity of James Nayler's repentance, and I think will also excite a

a feeling of tender sympathy with him under his deep sufferings, bodily and mental. They certainly represent him in an amiable point of view, and engage our attention and respect, as well as our sympathy.

After his liberation, he continued some time in London; but it appears went once as far as Bristol, where in a public meeting he made confession of his offence, in so powerful a manner, as drew tears from nearly all present; and many who were not so before, became reconciled to him.

In the year 1660, he left London with a view of returning to his family in Yorkshire. In the course of his journey, he was seen by a Friend of Hertford, sitting by the wayside in a very awful frame of mind. The Friend invited him to his house, but he declined the invitation, signifying his desire to press forward. He proceeded into Huntingdonshire, travelling on foot, and was observed by a Friend in that county, passing through a town, with such a solemn countenance, as indicated his being redeemed from the earth, and as a stranger or pilgrim in it, who was seeking a better country and inheritance.

When he was a few miles north of Huntingdon he was taken ill, and it was said robbed and left

bound. Being found by a countryman, he was taken to a Friend's house at Holm, near King's Ripton. At the latter place lived Thomas Parnel, a physician, who came to visit him. After his friends had performed some kind offices to him, he said: "You have refreshed my body, the Lord refresh your souls." He did not live long after his removal to this Friend's house, but departed this life in peace, about the 9th month, 1660, in the 44th year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnel's burying ground, at King's Ripton.

About two hours before his decease, he expressed himself to the following import: "There is a Spirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong; but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground or spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness; its life is everlasting love unfeigned; it takes its kingdom with intreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow,

and brought forth without any to pity it, nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forsaken, I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth; who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF JOHN LILBURNE.

ACCORDING to the account published in the Biographical Dictionary of 1798, in 15 octavo volumes, this singular man was born in the county of Durham, in the year 1618. Though he was not, for the greatest part of his life, a member of the Society of Friends; yet, as he at length received their principles and died in their faith, he seems to claim a place in these Memoirs. And the reader is desired particularly to notice, the difference between the turbulence of the partizan, which marked the early and the principal part of his life; and the calmness and meekness of his latter days, after he had adopted the principles of the despised people, called Quakers.

His father was possessed of a valuable estate, and resided at Thickney Purcharden, the family

seat, in the county of Durham. John was a younger son, and being placed out as an apprentice to a clothier or woollen-draper in London, when only twelve years of age, he must have acquired a very small stock of learning. The master was a Puritan, and the apprentice had been educated in the same religious sentiments. His deficiency in learning was supplied by a precocity of parts, and forwardness of disposition, which rendered his situation as an apprentice, uneasy to him, and he complained to the Chamberlain of the City, of his master's ill usage. Thus early did he manifest a disposition, impatient of control, which he carried with him through the greatest part of his life.

The times in which Lilburne lived, were such as were likely to find employment for his active and enterprising mind. When his apprenticeship expired, instead of prosecuting his trade, he attached himself to the discontented party of that day, and in the year 1636, was sent to Holland by Dr. Bastwick, who was a prisoner by order of the Star Chamber, in the Gatehouse, London. Lilburne's errand was to obtain the printing of some pieces in Holland, unfavourable both to the civil and ecclesiastical government of this country, the principal of which, was Bastwick's "Merry Liturgy." For the distribution of these and other similar publications, he was brought before the

High Commission Court, and sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail, from Fleet Prison to the Old Palace Yard; there to stand two hours on the pillory; to remain in the Fleet Prison till he conformed to the rules of the court; to pay a fine of 500l. to the king, and to find security for his good behaviour.

He bore his punishment with so much fortitude and spirit, that he acquired the name of "Free-born John" from his enemies; while his friends esteemed him as a saint. These circumstances occurred in the year 1637, and it appears that he continued a prisoner in the Fleet till 1640, part of the time loaded with double irons on his arms and legs, and confined in one of the worst wards. Here he was suspected of setting the prison on fire, but probably without cause. The fear of him, however, produced some amelioration of his situation, by which means he found opportunity to publish a piece of his own, entitled "The Christian Man's Trial."

The party to which Lilburne was attached, gaining the ascendancy, he was liberated; yet his restless spirit soon brought him again into difficulties. Early in the year 1641, he was arraigned before the House of Lords, for an assault upon the Governor of the Tower, Colonel Lunsford;

but was soon dismissed; and in 1646, and some succeeding years, he obtained decrees for a pecuniary remuneration on account of his sufferings, out of the estates of those who were attached to the royal party.

The civil wars now broke out with great violence, and Lilburne of course attached himself to the Parliament. He entered the army as a captain under the Earl of Essex, and was taken prisoner in an engagement at Brentford, but was exchanged for one considerably above his rank, after being tried at Oxford for high treason. When the Earl pressed the Scotch Covenant upon his followers, Lilburne differed with him, and through Cromwell's interest was advanced in the army. In this station he signalized himself on various occasions, particularly in the battle of Marston Moor, near York; and was advanced to the station of lieutenant-colonel, under the Earl of Manchester. This appears to have been the termination of his military career; for, quarrelling with the Earl, he consequently lost his station under him, and he was also committed, first to Newgate, and afterwards to the Tower, for his improper conduct to the Earl, as Speaker of the House of Lords. He continued prisoner till the year 1648, when an order was made to discharge him from his imprisonment, and to make him compensation for his sufferings.

In the year 1649, he was again brought to trial for high treason, against Oliver Cromwell and the House of Commons; both of whom he had represented, in divers publications, as destroying the liberties of the people of England. The expressions which he used in these publications, manifest the most undaunted courage in the support of those principles of liberty in which he had engaged. One of the publications was entitled, "An Impeachment of High-Treason against Oliver Cromwell, and his Son-in-law Henry Ireton, Esquires, late Members of the late forcibly dissolved House of Commons, presented to public View, by Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, close Prisoner in the Tower of London, for his real, true, and zealous Affection to the Liberties of this Nation." The bold title of this piece will convey an idea of the spirit in which it was written, and both Cromwell, and the whole Government as then constituted, are represented in such a degrading point of view, as must have been very galling to their feelings; and, considering the point and ability with which Lilburne wrote, very injurious to their power.

In the course of his trial he manifested that undaunted spirit and genuine love of liberty, which had always characterized him. So low was the opinion which he entertained of the then existing

government, that he declared what he had done was not only no high-treason; but that the government was such that no high-treason could be committed against it, and that therefore all true Englishmen were obliged to oppose the tyranny that was exercised.

The trial lasted three days, during which Lilburne pleaded his own cause with so much force of argument, that the jury unanimously acquitted him of the charges brought against him.

When the verdict was pronounced, the people in Guildhall, where he was tried, shouted for joy, for about half an hour; and the judges, who had used all the means they could to condemn the prisoner, felt much chagrined with the verdict, and with the demonstrations of joy which it produced. It appears from this trial, as well as from various other circumstances, that much dissatisfaction existed with the ruling powers, who had disappointed the expectations of the people in various matters, which they had given reason to suppose would be reformed, in case they came into power; and this disappointment so operated upon Lilburne's irritable mind, as to produce the violent conduct and expressions for which he was tried.

Lilburne was no doubt a man of a turbulent spirit; so much so, that it was sarcastically said of him, if he only were left in the world, John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John. He, however, possessed an honest independence of mind, with a consistent love of liberty. Many as well as himself had risqued their lives, in opposing the monarchy and hierarchy of the preceding rulers; and they vainly hoped, that after demolishing a government which was disagreeable to them, and of which they had many just causes of complaint, they should be able to erect one that would be perfect. In this, however, as is commonly the case, they were sorrowfully disappointed; and according to their own representations, they were much more dissatisfied with the new than with the old state of things.

It rarely happens that those who are instrumental in the destruction of existing governments, are qualified to supply their places with better. But in all these commotions, the eye of the *Christian* is directed to that over-ruling Providence, who makes them ultimately conducive to his glory, and to the benefit of mankind. "His way is in the whirlwind and in the storm, [political as well as natural,] and the clouds are as the dust under his feet."

In 1651, Lilburne involved himself in fresh contention, in consequence of which the Parliament fined him 7000l. and banished him from the nation. Before the act of banishment could pass, he fled to Amsterdam, but, returning without leave, he was again arrested and imprisoned. Dover Castle was, in 1655, the place of his confinement; and it was during his residence there, that he was visited by Luke Howard, a Friend of that town. By his religious conversation he was not only convinced of the Principles of the Society to which Howard belonged; but his mind became settled in a degree of calmness, to which he had before been much a stranger. His wife had manifested much affectionate attachment to him in his sufferings, as he had also done to her, and knowing, I suppose, of the alteration which had taken place in her husband's mind, she endeavoured to strengthen him with the following advice, in a letter which she wrote to him.

"My Dear, Retain a sober, patient spirit within thee, which I am confident thou shalt see will be of more force to recover thee, than all thy keen metal hath been. I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as shall make us study ourselves more than we have done."

This advice was so grateful to her husband, that in replying to her, he repeated it, with these

observations: "Oh my dear love! I am deeply entered into my part of it. The mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and also to go through thine; and effectually to go cheerfully and willingly along, hand in hand with me; which would render thee much more amiable, lovely, and pleasant in my eyes, although thou wert clothed in rags, than thou couldst be to me in thy drawing back, or standing still where thou wast, when I last saw thee, though therein thou wast clothed all over with rich and outwardly glistering earthly diamonds, and in the greatest of earthly prosperity."

"I am sorry thou art so straightly put to it for money; but to live on God by faith, in the depth of straights, is the lively condition of a christian. O! that thy spirit could attain to this, according to thy desire in thy letter, and my own present frame of spirit. I now can contentedly feed upon bread and cheese, and small beer alone, for saving of money.

"And for my liberty, about which thou so weariest and spendest thyself, as thy letter acquaints me thou dost, I can say to thee, that I am in my present temper of spirit, really ready with Peter, at the sight of the glorious transfiguration of Christ, to say: 'It is good being here;' for

here, in Dover Castle, through the loving kindness of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God and myself, and his gracious outgoings to my soul, than ever I had in all my life-time, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the bishops. And now submissively and heartily I can say, the will of my Heavenly Father be done in me, by me, and for me; in whose will I leave thee and thine, with all thy and my friends, and rest thine in the strength of renewedness of true love.

"JOHN LILBURNE."

"From Dover Castle, the place of the present enjoyed, delightful Dispensation of the eternal, everlasting Love of God to my Soul, the 4th of the 10th Month, 1655."

Although Lilburne had imbibed the Principles of Friends in general, it seems to have required considerable time to convince him that fighting was inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the gospel. This prevented him, for some time, from signing a declaration never to draw the sword against Cromwell's Government, which would probably have earlier obtained him his liberty. But continuing faithful to the discoveries of the Light of Christ, he became so fully convinced of this gospel doctrine, that he gave forth the following paper in print.

"I have now the faithful and true witness in my own soul, that the Lord himself is become, within me, the teacher of my soul, and enabler of me to walk in a measure of his pure ways and paths; yea, and so clear a teacher within me, is he already become unto me, as that I with confidence believe my inward teacher shall never now more be removed into a corner; but is, and shall be, as a continual voice speaking in my ears: 'This is the way, walk in it.' By this divine teaching I am now daily taught to die to sin, and led up by it into living power, to be raised up and enabled to live in a pure measure of righteousness: and by which inward and spiritual teachings, I am, I say again, led up into power in Christ, by which I

particularly can, and do hereby witness, that I am already dead or crucified to the very occasions and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal sword fighting, and fleshly bustlings and contests; and that, therefore, confidently I now believe, I shall never hereafter be a user of a temporal sword more, nor a joiner with those that do so.

"And this I do here solemnly declare, not in the least to avoid persecution, or for any political ends of my own, or in the least for the satisfaction of the wills of any of my great adversaries, or for satisfying the carnal will of my poor weak afflicted wife; but, by the special movings and compulsions of God, now upon my soul, am I in truth and righteousness compelled thus to declare; that so I may take away from my adversaries all their fig-leaf covers or pretences, for their continuing of my every way unjust bonds; and that thereby, if I must yet be an imprisoned sufferer, it may this day forward be, for the truth as it is in Jesus; which truth I witness to be truly professed and practised by the savouriest of people, called Quakers.

"And to this my present declaration, which I exceedingly long and earnestly desire to have in print, and for which I know that I can cheerfully

and assuredly lay down my life, if I be called to witness the truth of it, I subscribe my name,

"JOHN LILBURNE."

"From my innocent and every way causeless captivity, in Dover Castle, the place of my soul's delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and substantially found that which my soul many years has sought diligently after, and, with unsatisfied longingness, thirsted to enjoy, this present 1st day of the week, being the 4th of the 3d month, 1655."*

From Sewell's account it appears that Lilburne continued a prisoner till after the death of Cromwell, when he was released. But it is said in the Biographical Work already noticed, that he settled at Eltham, in Kent, passing the remainder of his days in undisturbed and undisturbing tran-

* I am apprehensive this should be 1656, in which year I find, in Whiting's Catalogue, a piece published by Lilburne, entitled, "The Resurrection of John Lilburne, now a Prisoner in Dover Castle, declared and manifested."

quillity; and that he died there in 1657. However, Sewell, whose account I take to be correct, says, that he died in London in 1660, continuing steadfast to the doctrines he had embraced.

In this instance we have a striking proof of the influence of true Christianity. Naturally of a turbulent and irritable disposition, fostered by circumstances which led to the continued indulgence of his inclinations, the entire change in Lilburne's habits and views, during the prime of life, affords a remarkable example of that conversion, which the Apostle describes, under the figure of becoming a *new man*. Happy would it be if Christian belief were more generally thus influencial!

CHAPTER X.

LIFE of GEORGE FOX the Younger.

IT does not appear that the subject of this Memoir, was any relation to the individual whose life constitutes the first volume of this work. He was called *the Younger* for the sake of distinction, both of them being eminent Members and Ministers of the Religious Society to which they belonged. He was a native of Charsfield a village about five miles north of Woodbridge, in Suffolk. Of the time of his birth, or the circumstances of his parents, I find no notice. He joined the Society of Friends about the year 1655, and both laboured and suffered much in support of those gospel truths, which he most surely believed.

He was present at the General Quarter Sessions held at Edmundsbury the 9th of October, 1655, where George Whitehead and two others were convicted as "Common Disturbers of Magistrates and Ministers;" though neither of them had spoken a word to any Magistrate or Minister, before they were taken into custody. The justices who committed them were their sole accusers, and incensed the others against them; and an ignorant jury being impannelled, they, by direction of the court, soon found the prisoners guilty; on which they were fined 20 nobles each, and committed to prison till payment should be made. George Fox the Younger observing the hard treatment of his friends, and especially the prejudice expressed by Justice Gurdon against them, was troubled at it, and thus addressed the justice as he was coming out of the sessions house. "Repent of thy unjust actions this day, for otherwise thou canst not escape the just judgments of God."

Upon hearing these words, Justice Gurdon laid hold on him, and had him before the bench, where sureties were demanded till the next sessions, and on his non-compliance he was sent to prison with his friends. Here their usage, as was too frequently the case, was very hard; for they were lodged in the common ward among felons,

in a low dungeon-like place, under the market-house, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay on rye straw. They appear also to have incurred the anger of the jailer, for not purchasing his strong liquors, and for testifying against the drunkenness, and swearing, and other disorders of his house.

In the time of their imprisonment, we are informed that George Fox received a gift and part in the ministry of the gospel. He and other fellow-prisoners were released by an order of Cromwell and his Council, dated 16th October, 1656, which extended also to their friends imprisoned at Colchester and Ipswich. At Bury the order was executed by Sir Francis Russel, a conscientious and compassionate man, averse to persecution. He sent his clerk to see the prisoners set at liberty; and instead of an order for them to be sent home, he kindly gave them an order or warrant to produce in their defence, if occasion should require, that they might travel without molestation.

During his imprisonment, and after his liberation, he published many religious addresses to people of various classes, particularly to the Army and Parliament. These contain much interesting matter; and his plain dealing and prophetic warn-

ings remarkably manifest the intrepidity of his spirit, and the clearness of his views. The following paragraph addressed to "the Army and Committee, that had turned out the Parliament," appears to deserve transcribing, for the justness of its sentiments, and the predicting voice of its declarations.

"Meddle not to establish religion and teachers by an outward law, for verily if ye do, ye will be broken. Let that alone to Christ, whose work it is. Consider all that went before you of late years, that would be meddling with such things, the Lord broke them to pieces; and they were warned in their day as ye are now. And let not the victories which ye have obtained, nor being preserved in so many overturnings, wherein ye have been made instrumental; nor your strength, courage, nor wisdom puff you up; for thus saith the Lord God, even as earthen vessels are in the hands of a potter, (who hath power to dash them one against another until they be broken, or to break them in pieces by another thing that appears more weak than they,) even so are you in my hand, saith the Lord; and I can confound your wisdom, and take away your courage, and smite you with faintness and dauntedness of spirit in the twinkling of an eye. Therefore, seek not yourselves, for if ye do, your day will be short."

In the year 1658, as he was preaching in a meeting at Dunstall or Tunstall, in Suffolk, he was violently opposed by one John Tokely, who, in a furious manner, came towards him with a drawn sword; but when he saw that George faced him without fear, he retired and fetched a loaded gun, which he fired at him, and the shot went over his head. George undaunted, continued his preaching undisturbed at the occurrence, which his opposer observing, from the force of sudden conviction, exclaimed: "Your faith is strong;" and went away.

At another time, as the subject of this Memoir was preaching in the market-place at Aldborough, he was seized by a bailiff and put out of the town; but he soon returned, and had a meeting there, at a widow's house, the same evening; whence he was taken and sent to prison. He was not however long detained; for, in four days after, we find him again preaching to the people in the steeple-house at Southwold, after the priest had done; but his *christian* concern for them was ill requited by the ruder sort, who beat him, threw him violently upon the stones, and haled him through the streets to the bailiff's house, who committed him to prison, and ordered him to be put into the inner ward, to prevent his speaking to the people.

In the 11th month, 1659, he wrote to the Parliament and their Army, whom he thus addressed: "Your day into darkness is turned; the sun is gone down over you; you have had a large day, and power given unto you, to have done the will of God; but you have abused your power, and slighted your day, and you have refused to do the Lord's work, and have sought to serve yourselves, and not the Lord. Therefore, in justice and righteousness is the day wherein you might have wrought for God, taken from you, and the thick dark night of confusion is come upon you, wherein you are groping and stumbling, and cannot work. The decree is gone out against you, and cannot be recalled." This is the commencement of his address, and he goes on much in the same strain, laying upon them their unfaithfulness to the cause which they at first espoused, and showing them in plain terms the consequence of their unfaithfulness. A copy in print was delivered to each Member of Parliament before General Monk came to London.

In the year 1660, while he was travelling in the work of the ministry in the county of Essex, his mind was drawn to appoint a meeting at Harwich, at which place the magistrates had manifested a persecuting disposition towards his friends.

On the day appointed for the meeting, which was on the first of the week, the magistrates compelled a boat, which contained about forty persons coming to the meeting from the Suffolk side of the river, to return with its passengers. Two men, servants of Robert Grassingham, a shipwright to the admiralty, whom their master had sent to bring some Friends over the river, were not only prevented from executing their master's direction; but were put into the stocks and continued there for several hours.

Notwithstanding these acts of illiberality and violence, the meeting was held for a considerable time without interruption, and George Fox preached to the people about two hours; but before the meeting was quite finished, a great company of sailors and others came to the house where it was held, and behaved with great rudeness, using very violent and abusive language. His zeal was justly kindled on this occasion, and feeling what he thought sufficient authority, he proclaimed: "Wo, wo, unto the rulers of this nation, who suffer such ungodliness as this, and do not seek to suppress it." This, probably with some addition, was soon reported to the magistrates, who came and ordered their officers to apprehend him in the king's name, Charles the 2d

being then restored. The mayor, without any mittimus, or pointing out any law that had been broken, committed him to prison, where his friend, Robert Grassingham, voluntarily and out of pure love, accompanied him and continued with him.

Before his removal from Harwich, he wrote to King Charles on his restoration. This he entitles, "A noble Salutation and a faithful Greeting unto thee Charles Stuart, who art now proclaimed, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."

The following paragraph from the conclusion will show the plain dealing which he used towards the king, as well as to those who had hold of the reins of government, before his restoration.

"And now, Oh King! as thou expects the blessing and presence of the Lord with thee, in thy government, fear and dread his presence, by standing in awe of his living witness, the Light which he hath placed in thy conscience, to guide and direct thee in all thy ways, that his wrath may be turned away from thee; that so this Scripture may not be fulfilled upon the people of this nation: God gave them a king in his anger, and took him away in his sore displeasure. But if it should prove so, I shall have peace, for I am clear

of thy blood; inasmuch as in plainness I have let thee see how things have been, and how they may or shall be, and wherein thy danger stands, and how that righteousness only establisheth the throne. And my desire is, if it be the will of God, that thou mightest consider them in the principle of life and wisdom, and thereby come to be saved from that destruction, which, in God's eternal Light, I see thee in great danger of."

The address from which the above extract is made, contains a great variety of matter on various subjects relating to the government. It was dated from Harwich jail, the 16th of the 3d month called May, 1660, and a copy of it in manuscript, was delivered to the king by Richard Hubberthorne, the 4th of the 4th month following; and as many of the subjects treated of in this address might be of use to others, as well as to the king, it was printed for general service.

After they had continued some time in prison at Harwich, a mittimus was sent to the jailer, in which Fox was falsely charged with causing a tumult in that borough, and disturbing the peace thereof. After this step was taken, the busy magistrates informed the parliament of the imprisonment not only of Fox, but also of Grassingham;

and the House ordered them both to be sent to London. The latter had, however, left the prison, and gone to London on his own business, whence he was returning by order of the admiralty board, when the sheriff of the county, who was conducting George Fox, took Grassingham also back to London, where they were delivered to the custody of the serjeant at arms, who committed them to Lambeth House, with orders for them to be strictly watched, in case any of their friends should visit them.

For six weeks they were confined to their chamber, without the usual liberty of walking in the yard. When they had been thus confined about three weeks, they drew up a paper, to be laid before the parliament, and sent it to the speaker, who, however, did not communicate it. It was therefore printed and distributed among the members, but without any effect, it being alleged that the address and contents of the paper rendered it inadmissible. A member of the house, after they had been confined about fourteen weeks, moved the consideration of their case, upon which it appears that an order was immediately given for their liberation.

This order was rendered ineffectual by the cruel avarice of the serjeant at arms, who demanded

fifty pounds for fees, and ten pounds per week for chamber rent. Not complying with this exorbitant demand, their confinement was protracted for a considerable time longer; and it is probable that their liberation was at length directed by the privy council, to whom their case was referred. From the date of some papers, I find George Fox a prisoner in Westminster Palace Yard Gate-house in the 1st month, 1661.* It also appears that he was liberated before the 4th month of that year. His arrest at Harwich was in the 3d month of the preceding year, so that he was kept prisoner about a year, without being brought to any legal trial. So perverted was the administration of justice in those times.

This long confinement was not spent in idleness, but the prisoner employed his pen and, when opportunity offered, his tongue also, in promoting the cause for which he suffered. Among other publications, one was entitled, "His Faith touching four Particulars demonstrated."

1st, Concerning Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.

* It is possible that this imprisonment in Westminster was not a continuance of the former at Lambeth, and that an interval of liberty took place between the times of his being a prisoner at Lambeth and Westminster.

2d, Concerning Justification.

3d, Concerning the Resurrection.

4th, Concerning everlasting Glory and eternal Misery.

On all these topics he explains the views of himself and his friends at considerable length. On the subject of Justification he expresses himself thus: "I do believe no man can be justified by the works of the law, nor by any work of his own; but he or she that is justified in the sight of God, it is freely by his grace, through faith in Christ Jesus, who creates such unto good works, which God hath ordained, that they that are justified should walk in them."

The following acknowledgment to Divine power and goodness, written about this time, also appears deserving of a place in this Memoir.

"Surely it was thee, Oh Lord! that gave bounds to the sea, that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy chosen. Thou canst let forth the winds, and suffer a storm; and thou canst make a calm when thou pleasest. Have thou the glory

of all, thou King of Saints! thou Saviour of Israel! Thou canst do whatever thou pleasest, therefore will we trust in thy name; neither will we fear what man can do unto us, because thou wilt not forsake us, but thou wilt plead our cause in the sight of our adversaries, and they shall know that thou art our God, who art able to save to the uttermost.

"Oh Lord, our righteousness! we will praise thy name, for thy mercies endure for ever. Our eyes, Oh God! are unto thee, for we have no other helper. Our faith, Oh Lord! standeth in thee, who canst not forget thy people. Thou hast redeemed and brought up Jacob, who wrestleth with thee, and prevails as a prince; therefore must the blessing come. Oh Lord! the birth, the birth crieth unto thee, thine own elect, which has long been oppressed. Thou canst not deny thyself, therefore have we faith, and hope which maketh not ashamed. Oh Lord! how unsearchable are thy ways! Thou hast even amazed thy people with the depth of thy wisdom; thou only wilt have the glory of their deliverance, and therefore hast thou suffered these things to come to pass. Oh Lord! thou art righteous in all thy judgments; only preserve thy people, which thou hast gathered and wilt gather unto thyself, in the day of trial, that so

they may sing of thy power, and magnify thy name in the land of the living.

"GEORGE FOX, the Younger."

In the 4th month, 1661, it appears that a temporary cessation of persecution had taken place, at which time he wrote to his friends in this manner: "O! that patience might be abode in by all that know his name, and his will submitted unto by them that he hath called. O! be still, strive not, but drink the cup which my Father suffereth to be given: I know it will be bitter to some; but whosoever striveth against it, shall come to loss and shame; for the Lord will yet further try his people, till it be fully and clearly manifest who are approved in his sight. This he will certainly do; therefore let not the present calm beget a wrong security in any; for lo! the day hastens and comes swiftly, that another storm must arise; and in vain will it be to fly to the tall cedars or strong oaks, for shelter, for nothing but the name of the Lord can preserve in that day."

This prediction was soon fulfilled; for in the succeeding year above one hundred Friends were confined at one time in Newgate, where several died. And a few years afterwards the Conventicle Act was passed, which subjected the Society to perhaps more sufferings than they had previously undergone. But before any of these events took place, this extraordinary man finished his labours and sufferings in and for the Church Militant, dying at the close of this year, 1661, or the beginning of 1662. In his last illness he exhorted his friends to "keep in that unity for which he had long travailed, and to keep their garments unspotted by the world, because great was the day of trial which was then at hand." When he was in great bodily weakness, he lay as a man daily renewing his strength in the Lord, whose living presence so animated his departing spirit to the last, that he said, he would even shout and sing for joy of heart. Thus exultingly did he terminate his existence in this world, and there is good reason to believe is added to the church triumphant in heaven.

A Friend who subscribes himself I. P. and whom I suppose to be Isaac Pennington, speaking of the ministry of this George Fox, describes it in figurative terms: "As thunder to the rocks

and mountains; and streams of sweet milk, wine, and honey to the blessed living babes of the blessed living God."

Soon after his decease, his writings were collected and published in a small octavo volume, containing about 288 pages.

CHAPTER XI.

LIFE OF RICHARD HUBBERTHORN.

THIS Friend was one of the earliest members of the Society in Lancashire. He lived, and I suppose was born at Yelland in that county. His parents were respectable, and his father a man of landed property. Richard was their only son. He early manifested a religious disposition of mind, and, as was the case with many serious people at that time, entered into the Parliament's army, in which he became an officer; and so great was his godly zeal, that he sometimes preached to his fellow-soldiers. After he was convinced of the principles of Friends, he left his military employment, and became a soldier in the Lamb's warfare, enlisting himself under the banner of Christ Jesus, the Prince of Peace. So early as the year 1652, he went forth in gospel service; and

afterwards suffered much for his religious principles.

In 1653, the mayor of Chester sent him to jail, and detained him there eight days, upon a bare information of his visiting John Lawson, in prison.

In the year 1654, he and George Whitehead travelled into Norfolk, and coming to Norwich, he was concerned to speak to a priest in the grave-yard, on which account he was taken before the magistrates. Coming into their presence with his hat on, he was committed to the castle, where he continued a prisoner great part of the succeeding year. His companion, however, had much service in that city, in which a Meeting of Friends was then establised. It is most probable they were the first Friends who visited those parts.

In giving an account of the sufferers in Cambridgeshire in the year 1656, Joseph Besse furnishes a further proof, that "Even christian charity itself, was by some magistrates reputed criminal; and Richard Hubberthorn and Richard Weaver, were sent to jail only for visiting Ann Blakley in prison; and Richard Hubberthorn for not departing the town [probably Cambridge] at the mayor's command, was sent to the house of correction for three months."

The same year we find that Richard Hubberthorn was taken out of a meeting in the county of Lancaster, bound hand and foot, and so carried and laid in the open fields, in a cold winter's night.

The next notice I find of Richard Hubberthorn, is in the year 1660, when he had a long conference with Charles the Second, and some others who were in company with him. In this conversation, Richard explained the Principles of Friends, so much to the king's satisfaction, that he repeatedly promised they should not any way suffer for their religious opinions. But though there is no reason to doubt the king's sincerity at the time, yet he was so easily influenced by others, that he seemed to forget what he had solemnly promised, on the word of a king. The very man to whom this promise was made, was a proof of this weakness in the king's disposition, as will be related in the sequel.

It seems that Richard Hubberthorn continued some time in London; for in the same year that he had this conference with Charles the Second, we find him uniting with George Fox in drawing up a declaration of their abhorrence of plots and warring, in order to present it to the king and council. When it was finished and sent to the

press, it was there seized; but this arbitrary endeavour to deprive them of the opportunity of vindicating themselves and their friends, did not deter these bold asserters of just liberty from prosecuting their commendable design. They quickly drew up another declaration, got it printed, sent some copies to the king and council, and published the rest in their justification, to the nation at large.

In 1661, he, with Edward Burrough and George Whitehead, attended the parliament, to solicit against passing into an act, "A bill for preventing mischief and dangers that may arise, from certain persons called *Quakers*, and others refusing to take lawful oaths."

They attended the committee several times, and were also permitted to give their reasons at the bar of the house; but it seems that prejudice, party animosity, and mistaken zeal, overruled the clearest arguments adduced against it.

In the 4th month, 1662, notwithstanding the promise made to him by the king, he was violently dragged from a meeting in Bull and Mouth Street, and taken before Richard Brown, alderman, who pulled Hubberthorn's hat with so much violence that he brought his head nearly to the

ground. After this rough treatment, he committed him to Newgate, where the prisoners were so numerous, and the accommodation so poor, that he soon grew sick; and within two months his sufferings terminated with his life!

Two days before his decease, some of his friends visited him, and inquiring if there was any thing upon his spirit, he said, that there was no need to dispute matters; for he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord." He also said: "That faith which hath wrought my salvation I well know, and have grounded satisfaction in it." In the morning previous to his decease, he expressed himself thus to one who attended him: "Do not seek to hold me, for it is too strait for me, and out of this straitness I must go; for I am wound into largeness, and am to be lifted up on high, far above all." In the evening of the day he quietly departed this life, and thus sealed his testimony to those religious principles, which he had conscientiously embraced, and zealously promulgated.

He was a man of low stature, infirm constitution, and a weak voice; but though he did not possess gracefulness of person, he excelled in the more noble faculties of the mind; being of an excellent natural temper, a man of much meekness,

humility, and patience. He was of distinguished equanimity, neither easily depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity; clear in judgment and of a quick understanding.

Notwithstanding the weakness of his voice, he was a very able and successful minister of the gospel; and great numbers, in different parts of the nation, were convinced and brought to the same faith and practice which he preached, as seals to the power and efficacy of his gift.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE OF WILLIAM AMES.

WE have no account of the birth of *William Ames*, or of his native country, except that John Whiting mentions him as being of Somersetshire. In his youth he was of a cheerful temper, and fond of the society of those of similar dispositions; but, in the gay and unguarded indulgencies of this inclination, he was often disquieted in his mind; and, in consequence, became a closer follower of the priests and teachers. He also exercised himself diligently in reading the Holy Scriptures, which, though it is a practice very excellent in itself, was not sufficient to bring him to true peace of mind with the Lord.

Though he was of a quick understanding, and capable of deducing much argument from the Scriptures; yet he appears, for a time, not to have

been favoured with the Key of David, which only can unlock and open that rich treasury, and furnish from those abundant stores, the food convenient for the seeking, hungry soul.

In this unsatisfied condition of mind, he entered into religious communion with the Baptist society, and became a teacher among them. At this period he was more strict and careful of his conduct, and endeavoured to avoid the committing of sins; yet he found that the root from whence they sprung was alive in him; and when he met with any thing contrary to his own will and mind, anger soon prevailed. Few appear to have been more fully and clearly taught the doctrine of the blessed Redeemer of men, when he said: "Without me ye can do nothing."

He could speak of justification, sanctification, and cleansing by the blood of Jesus, but was sensible he had not attained that pure washing; and even perceived that he was no true member of Christ, because he had not experienced regeneration. Thus he learned that a high profession was of no avail, and that something beyond it was essential, to enable him to attain a happy state and condition.

Though the subject of this Memoir was thus clearly sensible of one thing still lacking; and, on

committing sin, felt in himself a swift witness, a monitor that struck him with terror; yet he did not comprehend what it was which in mercy thus disquieted his soul.

In addition to the ministerial office which he had taken upon himself, he likewise engaged as an officer in the army. In this capacity he was of a strict life himself, and kept his soldiers under a severe discipline; and when any of them were guilty of immorality on the first day of the week, he presently had them put under confinement and restraint.

At length, in the year 1655, whilst Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at Cork in Ireland, he heard one or both of them preach, declaring that what convinceth man of sin, is the *Light of Christ*, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. This doctrine entered so deeply into his heart, that he embraced it, from firm conviction of its being the Truth; and walking with great circumspection and fear before the Lord, he found, that by diligent atttention to that Divine principle which inwardly reproved and condemned him for evil, he came to be delivered from the power of sin, and to witness sanctification.

He entered into the Society of the despised Quakers, and continuing in the way of godliness,

he himself became a zealous preacher of that doctrine which had so deeply penetrated his own heart.

In the year 1657, we find him at Amsterdam, in company with a person of the name of *Humble Thatcher*, who does not appear to have been ever fully in communion with our religious society. It seems, from the circumstance of their being companions, and from William Ames being a man of extraordinary courage and boldness, that they were taken up, on suspicion of having placed a paper on the door of the English meeting-house, in that city; but of this charge William declared himself innocent; and also that he knew not who was the author of the paper. This happened at the time when so many false reports were in print, concerning James Nayler, which probably occasioned the magistrates to be more apprehensive respecting them; and sending for William Ames and his companion to appear before them, they were commanded to depart the town in twenty-four hours.

Persuaded of their own innocency, these courageous and resolute men did not think proper to obey the command. The next day, from a conscientious scruple, not putting off their hats when before the magistrates, they were falsely considered

as not owning the subordination due to rulers; and after being kept in custody for some days, they were at night led through the Regulars gate, and banished out of the town.

William Ames judging that he had committed no evil, returned the next day into the city, and passed the great market-place called the Dam. On this occasion it is said that some of the magistrates saw him and observed: "Lo! there is the Quaker; if we had a mind now to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it." But it seems, as there was no proof of their having done any evil, the magistrates deemed it safest to wink at his return.

He staid some time in the city, and the doctrine which he preached found some entrance, even among a few of the collegians. At this time also his ministry proved convincing to Jacob Williamson Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and surgeon, resident at Amsterdam, and Judith Zinspenning his wife, who were the parents of William Sewel, the historian of our society, and a lexicographer. These, with two or three more, were the first of our religious persuasion at Amsterdam.

In the preface to William Sewel's History, he mentions William Ames as having had considerable

influence with several collegians when he was first at Amsterdam, who were so fully convinced of the doctrine he preached, that they approved of it; and one of them, Adam Boreels, so early as the year 1662, is supposed by William Sewel, to have written a treatise in Latin, with a title signifying, "The Light upon the Candlestick," which contained the doctrines preached by William Ames, and was so expressed in the title page. This treatise is translated into English, and forms an Appendix to William Sewell's History of our Sociey.

About the year 1659, William Ames went into Germany, and visited the court of the Prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly even at his own table, and seemed not to take any offence at his hat being kept on, though the lords and others present were uncovered. On one occasion, as Ames was walking next the prince, in his garden, with his hat on, the courtiers inquired of the prince, if they should question Ames for doing so; but this he would not permit them to do.

At another time the prince fixed to have both his chaplain and William Ames to dine with him, with a view, it seems, that William, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occasion to reprove

the chaplain. For this purpose, when they were at dinner, the prince suffered his jester to come in, and on playing his tricks the chaplain was silent. William Ames took occasion from this circumstance to reprove such vain actions; but chiefly aimed his remarks at the chaplain, whom, for his silence at the lewd remarks of the jester, he censured in very plain terms; which, however, appeared to afford satisfaction to the prince. This fact marks the uprightness, boldness, and firm integrity of the character of William Ames.

At Kriesheim, a town in the Palatinate, not far from Worms, he found such entrance among the Baptists, that some families not only received the doctrine he preached, but bore public testimony for it there, till the settlement of Pennsylvania, when they unanimously went to that province, and thus providentially escaped the distresses which were occasioned by the war not long after; in which the Palatinate was laid waste by the French, and thousands were bereaved of their possessions and reduced to poverty.

The conviction which attended the ministry of William Ames, in the hearts of some persons in the Palatinate, occasioned a fine to be settled on those who gave him entertainment; but the Prince Elector being informed of it, not only took off

the fine, but ordered some of the Consistory, who had sent for William, to desist from molesting him. The Prince's sister also behaved very kindly towards William Ames, and received his exhortations favourably.

The next year he went again into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and visited the Prince Elector; he also sent a letter to the Prince, with a book written by George Fox, of which John Higgins appears to have been the bearer. From the Captain of the Prince's Guard, they understood that he was glad of William Ames's return; and the Prince himself desired John Higgins to thank William Ames for the letter and book; and added, that he took their visit to him and his family very kindly, and believed that what they spoke, was in love to their souls.

William Ames also went to Hamburgh, Bohemia, and Dantzick, and from the latter into Poland; but it is not certain in what year. At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with some who received the doctrine he preached; but in Poland the people were too rude and haughty for him to make an impression on their minds.

In the forepart of the year 1659, he went also to Rotterdam, where he and one Martin

Martinson, who had been convinced by him, were imprisoned in the Bedlam there, for having a meeting at Martinson's house. The latter lived at Moordecht, a village near Gouda, and was in the practice of holding a meeting sometimes in his own house, with some of his sober-minded neighbours, which caused a great commotion in the town; and after a meeting held there, at which William Ames was present, they experienced much rude treatment. In conseqence of this, they had some conversation with a preacher, who charged William Ames with being a wolf and deceiver. William was desirous of having an opportunity of clearing himself, and by means of Martin Martinson got a time fixed for the priest to undertake the proof of his assertion; but instead of doing so, he had recourse to a less troublesome expedient, and procured civil officers, who took them both into custody.

After being confined a little more than three weeks in Bedlam, the under governor indirectly expressed a wish that they would escape; saying that he should not hinder them. William Ames, not choosing to be reputed one who broke prison, concluded the conversation with saying: "Well, I intend to go out to-morrow." The next day they were suffered to go out, and William went

with the deputy before the dikegrave, not choosing to leave the town without seeing him. The dikegrave behaved moderately; but not judging it eligible for them to be released, expressed a desire for them to return to the prison, with which they complied, and were detained some time longer, before they were set at liberty: William then proceeded on his journey in Germany, and thence returned to his native country; but after some time he went again to Holland, probably with an intention of settling there.

In 1662, he was taken from a Friends house in London, with Samuel Fisher and three others, and suffered a severe imprisonment in Bridewell; but his health not being equal to endure such severity, he was released, lest he should die there. Such was the rage of persecution at that time, that not only public meetings were interrupted, but private houses were broken into, and friendly visits were construed into meetings contrary to law.

His settled abode at this time was at Amsterdam, to which place, after his release, he returned, with his health much impaired; and he did not very long survive the effects of the severity he endured in Bridewell. In the course of his sickness, which was lingering, he was informed, that, among the Baptists and Collegians, it was reported, he had changed his sentiments, and was grieved for having judged him wrongfully. This he denied; and said that he still judged their way of worship, especially their disputations and will-worship, to be out of the way of the Lord. In this belief he continued, and died in peace. This was in the latter part of the year 1662.

William Sewel thus concludes his account of this bold advocate, of the Light of Christ in the Heart. "He was indeed a zealous man, and though some were ready to think he was too zealous, yet he was discreet; and I know that he was condescending in indifferent matters, thinking that there were customs, which though not followed in one country, were yet tolerable in another. He was also generous; and lest he might seem burthensome to any, he rather chose to work with his own hands." He did this, at wool-combing, during his last imprisonment in London.

He published several small works, which are enumerated in John Whiting's catalogue of Friends' Books. In this list appears to be included "The Light upon the Candlestick," already noticed in

this Memoir; and from his name being in the title-page, John Whiting might suppose he was the author of it.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF EDWARD BURROUGH.

IN the course of reading which is necessary, previous to writing my Biographical Notices, I perused the Testimony of Francis Howgill concerning the subject of this Memoir, and was so struck with the excellency of the matter, and the sublimity of the expression, that I thought it deserved reprinting by itself. Hence it became a subject of consideration, whether I could do better than present my readers with this production. It is something above the style of sober history, yet the delineation is so strong, and the colouring, though high, there is reason to believe, so just, that I apprehend no one who is acquainted with the character of Edward Burrough, will think that this picture of him is overcharged. As it also contains much biographical information, I have concluded to give my account in the words

of this intimate friend and fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ. It may be proper to apprize the reader, that the first part of this Testimony, as it is called, contains an affecting lamentation or elegical eulogy over his departed friend.

FRANCIS HOWGILL's TESTIMONY

CONCERNING THE

Life, Death, Trials, Travels, and Labours,

OF

EDWARD BURROUGH,

That Worthy Prophet of the LORD.

"SHALL days, or months, or years, wear out thy name as though thou hadst no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works, which thou hast wrought, through the power of Him that gave thee being, live in generations to come? Oh yes! The children that are yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in generations who yet have not a being, and shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go out as the snuff of a candle? Oh nay! thou hast penetrated the hearts of many;

and the memorial of the just shall live for ever, and be had in renown among the children of wisdom for ever: for thou hast turned many to righteousness, and shall shine as a star of God in the firmament of God's power for ever and ever; and they that are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be seen in mutability; yet thy life and thy spirit shall run parallel with immortality.

"Oh! Edward Burrough! I cannot but mourn for thee; yet not as one without hope or faith; knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well-being, in my heart, by the Spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as *David* did for a worse man than thee; even for *Abner*, when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause, though he was a valiant man. "*David lamented over Abner and said: Died Abner as a fool dieth?* Oh nay! he was betrayed of his life. Even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life, by the hand of the oppressors, whose habitations are full of cruelty. Oh my soul! come not thou within their secret; for thy blood shall be required at the hands of them who thirsted after thy life; and it shall cry as Abel's who was in the faith; even so wert thou. It shall weigh as a ponderous millstone upon their necks,

and shall crush them under, and be as a worm that gnaweth and shall not die.

"When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow, and because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee, my substance is even as dissolved. Shall I not say as David said of Saul and Jonathan when they were slain in Mount Gilboa: 'The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places;' even so wast thou stifled in nasty holes and prisons, and many more who were precious in the eyes of the Lord; and surely precious wast thou to me, Oh dear Edward! *'I am distressed for thee, my brother; very pleasant hast thou been to me, and my love to thee was wonderful, passing the love of women. Oh thou whose bow never turned back, neither sword empty from the blood of the slain, from the slaughter of the mighty;'* who made nations and multitudes shake with the word of life in thy mouth; and wast very dreadful to the enemies of the Lord; for thou didst cut like a razor; and yet to the seed of God brought forth, thy words dropt like oil, and thy lips as the honey-comb.

"Thou shalt be recorded among the valiants of Israel, who attained to the first degree, through the power of the Lord, that wrought mightily in thee in thy day, and wast worthy of double honour,

because of thy work's sake. Thou wast expert to handle thy weapon, and by thee the mighty have fallen, and the slain of the Lord have been many; many have been pricked to the heart, through the power of the Word of Life; and coals of fire from thy life, came forth of thy mouth, that in many a thicket, and among many briars and thorns, it came to be kindled; and did devour much stubble that cumbered the ground and stained the earth. Oh, how certain a sound did thy trumpet give! And how great an alarum didst thou give in thy day, that made the host of the uncircumcised greatly distressed!

"What man so valiant, though as Goliath of Gath, would not thy valour have encountered with, while many despised thy youth! And how have I seen thee with thy sling and thy stone (despised weapons as to war with,) wound the mighty! and that which hath seemed contemptible to the Dragon's party, even as the jaw-bone of an ass, with it thou hast slain the Philistines, heaps upon heaps, as Sampson. Thou hast put thy hand to the hammer of the Lord, and hast often fastened nails in the heads of the Lamb's enemies; as Deborah* did to Sisera; and many a rough stone hast thou polished and squared, and made it fit

* Deborah may have been designedly used in a figurative sense for JAEL, to whom the passage alludes.

for the building of God; and much knotty wood hast thou hewed in thy day, which was not fit for the building of God's house; oh thou prophet of the Lord! and [thou] shalt for ever be recorded in the Lamb's book of life, among the Lord's worthies, who have followed the Lamb through great tribulations, as many can witness for thee, from the beginning; and at last hath overcome and [hath been] found worthy to stand with the Lamb upon Mount Sion, the hill of God, as I have often seen thee; and thy heart well tuned as a harp to praise the Lord, and to sound forth his great salvation, which, many a time, hath made glad the hearts of them that did believe, and strengthened their faith and hope.

"Well, thou art at rest, and bound up in the bundle of life; and I know tears were wiped away from thy eyes, because there was no cause of sorrow in thee; for I know thou witnessed the old things done away; and there was no curse; but blessings were poured upon thy head as rain, and peace as a mighty shower; and trouble was far from thy dwelling, though in the outward man trouble on every side; and [thou] hast had a greater share in that for the gospel's sake, though a youth, in thy time, than many besides; but now thou art freed from that, and hast obtained a name through faith with the saints in light.

"Well, hadst thou more to give up than thy life for the name of Jesus in this world? Nay, and to seal thy testimony committed unto thee with thy blood, as thou hast often said in thy day, which shall remain as a crown upon thee for ever and ever. And now thou art freed from the temptations of him who had the power of death; and art freed from thy outward enemies, who hated thee because of the life that dwelt in thee, and remainest at the right hand of God, where there is joy and pleasure for evermore in the everlasting light, which thou hast often testified unto, according to the word of prophecy in thy heart, which was given unto thee by the Holy Ghost; and art at rest in the perfection thereof, in the beauty of holiness; yet thy life and thy spirit I feel as present, and have unity with it and in it, beyond all created and visible things which are subject to mutation and change. And thy life shall enter into others, to testify unto the same truth, which is from everlasting to everlasting; for God hath raised, and shall raise up children unto Abraham, of them that have been as dead stones, whose power is Almighty, great in his people, in the midst of their enemies.

"This same Edward Burrough was born in the barony of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, of honest parents, who had a good report

among their neighbours, for upright and honest dealing among men; who brought up Edward in his youth, in learning and good education as the country doth afford. He was a very understanding boy in his youth; and his knowledge and understanding did far exceed his years. He had the spirit of a man when he was but a child; and I may say grey hairs were upon him when he was but a youth, for he was clothed with wisdom in his infancy; for I had perfect knowledge of him from a youth. He was inclinable from his youth upwards to religion, and the best way, always minding the best things, and the best and nearest way of worship to the Scriptures of truth; and always did accompany the best men, who walked in godliness and honesty; insomuch I have often admired his discreet carriage, and his great understanding of the things of God. He was never known to be addicted to any vice, or malignity, or bad behaviour, neither followed any evil course of life from his childhood; but feared the Lord and walked uprightly, according to the light and knowledge received in all things.

"In his natural disposition, he was bold and manly, dexterous and fervent; and what he took in hand, he did it with his might; loving, kind, and courteous, merciful and flexible, and easy to be entreated. His whole delight was always

among good people, and to be conferring and reading the Scriptures, and little to mind any sports or pastimes which there is an incidency unto in youth; but his very strength was bended after God; and [he] was separated, I may say, from his birth, and fitting for the work's sake, whereunto he after was called.

"And when it pleased the Lord to raise up unto us the ancient horn of salvation, among us who were reckoned in the North part of England, even as the outcasts of Israel, and as men destitute of the great knowledge which some seemed to enjoy; yet there was more sincerity and true love amongst us, and desires after the living, powerful, presence of God, than was among many in that day who seemed to make a great flourish; who ran into heaps and forms, but left the cross behind them, and indeed were strangers to it. God out of his everlasting love did appear to us, according to the desire of our hearts, who longed after Him. When we had turned aside from hireling-shepherds tents, we found him whom our souls loved; and God out of his great love and great mercy sent one unto us, immediately, by his power, a man of God, one of ten thousand, to instruct us in the way of God more perfectly; who laid down the sure foundation, and declared the acceptable year of the Lord; who indeed made the mourners to

rejoice, and the heavy-hearted glad; which yet was terrible to all hypocrites and all formal profession; which testimony reached unto all our consciences, and entered into the inmost part of our hearts; which drove us to a narrow search, and to a diligent inquisition concerning our state, which we came to see, through the light of Christ Jesus, which was testified of; and found it to be even what it was testified of.

"And the Lord of heaven and earth, we found to be near at hand; and as we waited upon Him in pure silence, our minds out of all things, his dreadful power, and glorious majesty, and heavenly presence, appeared in our assemblies; when there was no language, tongue, nor speech from any creature; and the kingdom of heaven did gather us, and catch us all as in a net; and his heavenly power at one time drew many hundreds to land; that we came to know a place to stand in, and what to wait in; and the Lord appeared daily to us, to our astonishment, amazement, and great admiration; insomuch that we often said one unto another, with great joy of heart: *What! is the kingdom of God come to be with men? And will he take up his tabernacle among the sons of men as he did of old? And what! shall we that were reckoned as the outcasts of Israel, have this honour of glory communicated amongst us, which were but*

men of small parts, and of little abilities, in respect of many others, as amongst men? Howbeit, this it seemed good unto the Lord, to choose the weak things, and the foolish things of this world, as to the aspect of men, that no flesh might glory; that no man, because of his parts, might glory, or because of his strength or wisdom might glory; but that the glory which is His, might be given only to Him; *unto whom be the glory of all his works for ever and ever.* AMEN.

"And from that day forward, our hearts were knit unto the Lord, and one unto another, in true and fervent love; not by any external covenant, or external form; but we entered into the covenant of life with God; and that was as a strong obligation or bond upon all our spirits, which united us one unto another; and we met together in the unity of the spirit, and of the bond of peace; treading down under our feet, all reasoning, questioning, debating, and contending about religion; or any part or parts, or practice or practices thereof, as to any external thing. And we waited at time and times, as God did grant us opportunities; and the more we had and could obtain from our necessary occasions of this present life, the better we were, and the more we were confirmed and strengthened in our hope and faith; and holy resolutions were kindled in our hearts, as

a fire which the life kindled in us, to serve the Lord while we had a being, and to make mention of his name and power whilst we did live; and to hold forth that testimony which was committed to us, in the sight of men and nations, by doctrines, by practice, by a holy conversation. And mightily did the word of God grow amongst us, and the desires of many were after the name of the Lord. Oh happy day! Oh blessed day! the memorial of which can never pass out of my mind. And thus the Lord, in short, did form us to be a people for his praise in our generation.

"Howbeit after all this and much more, which time would fail me to write of, (neither is the purpose of my spirit bent that way at this time,) we did come through very great tribulations, extreme distresses, great perplexity; and passed out oftentimes hungry and hard put to it, both within and without; yet such was our love to the Lord, and such fervency in our hearts, that we rather chose to die, and to undergo every difficulty, than to dishonour or deny the name of Christ, in the midst of suffering; because of that taste that we had of his goodness and immortal life, revealed in our hearts. This young man of whom I am speaking, had his share, though but a youth of 16 or 17 years of age. Because of the truth which crossed all the world's ways, his nearest relations, even his

own parents, cast him off as an alien, and turned him out from their house, as not to have any part or portion therein, as a son; nay not so much as a hired servant, which this young man bore very patiently, without murmuring or complaining, having a taste of that, then, which was better than all the world; and through conversing with his people, and amongst them, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and the spirit of wisdom and understanding entered into his heart; and the spirit of knowledge and sound judgment came to be seated in his reins; and the spirit of prophecy came upon him, like as it did upon many more through the Holy Ghost's power and operation; and he spake of the wonderful things of God among them that believed, and was one of the first among us, which the Lord opened the mouth of, to show forth his praise, and to speak of the things of his kingdom to as many as he met with, who waited for the consolation of Israel, for the riches of the Gentiles, and to as many as desired and hoped after eternal life.

"At last the Lord singled him out, and commanded him to go forth into countries unknown to him; as he did some more besides; upon whom he laid a necessity to preach the gospel freely, without money, without price, without tithes, augmentations, gifts, or rewards; and in that he was as

faithful a man, none exceeding him in his generation; for those things were an abhorrency to his heart; and where he met with any such hireling shepherds and deceitful workers, which had gulled the nations, and cheated the people for dishonest gain, and kept them in blindness, the indignation of the Lord, was kindled in his heart, and the sword of the Lord was very sharp in his hand; and whomsoever he met with that walked after this sort, they were sure to feel the weight of his weapon, and the force of his blow, by which many have been deeply wounded, and have gnashed their teeth on him, greedy of their gain, because of their present wound and blow that he did give them; and though he was but young in years, yet he was full of fortitude and true valour. The Lord oftentimes, when he exercised him in such war as this, hath filled his quiver full of polished shafts, and made his bow to abide in strength; and he was as dexterous and as ready handed, as any that I knew in his day, against the dragon and his power, against the beast and his followers; and indeed he was even handed, and had a special good arm, and seldom missed the mark. God had filled his mouth with arguments, so that he hath often made a breach in the face of a host.

"And it was my lot, which I cannot but say fell in a good ground, to be his companion and fellow-

labourer, in the work of the gospel, whereunto we were called, for many years together. And oh! when I consider, my heart is broken! how sweetly we walked together for many months and years! in which we had perfect knowledge of one another's hearts, and perfect union of spirit; not so much as one cross word, or one hard thought of discontent ever arose, I believe, in either of our hearts, for ten years together; but our souls were bound up in unity and peace, having the frame of our hearts bent after one and the self same thing; to wit, the propagation of that truth, by which liberty was obtained, and salvation received through Jesus Christ, the true light of the world.

"Seeing through his light, the whole world to lie in wickedness, a necessity lay upon this person of whom I am speaking, being constrained by the Spirit of the Lord, by which he was made an able minister of the everlasting gospel, to preach repentance, conversion, salvation, and remission of sins; and accordingly he went forth, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of mankind, and was an able minister of the glad tidings of salvation, in many or most parts of this land; and also he travelled through again and again, the whole nation of Ireland; and in some part of Scotland, and some part of Flanders; and his ministry was made effectual, through the Almighty power

of God, in turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. There are many thousands who are living in the body, and alive in the truth, who can, in the Spirit of the Lord, bear testimony to the power and verity of his ministry, in many countries where he travelled; for he laboured much in divers places, even in the heat of the day; though he began early in the morning. And in the beginning of his travels and labours, it was his share to break up rough places, and untilled ground, and to walk amongst many briars and thorns, which scratched, and pricked, and teared; and travelled with some other not without great opposition; and he often trod the paths and ways which had not been occupied in the truth; and where darkness had the dominion, and was as a covering, he brake through as an armed man; not minding the opposition, but the victory and the good of all souls; though to my knowledge his sufferings and trials have not been small, nor his exercise little, on the right hand and on the left; in travel often; oftentimes buffetted: sometimes knocked down by unreasonable men, who had not faith; loaded with lies, slanders, calumnies, and reproaches; often in weakness; yea in deaths often; in watching, fastings, and temptations often; in straits and necessities; in perils among rude multitudes; in perils in idol temples; in perils in streets and markets, where the Lord did move him

often to go in the beginning of his time; besides the exceeding weight of service, from week's end to week's end; insomuch that he had seldom many hours of repose; and often suffered by those spirits, who lost their first love, and rose in opposition.

"He was very diligent and faithful, true hearted and valiant; and the yoke at last, came to be easy unto him, though no ease at all in the body, as to the outward man; for he made the work of the Lord his whole business, without taking so much liberty unto himself, or about any outward occasion in this world, as to spend one week to himself, to my knowledge, these ten years. He had ventured himself often for the body's sake; and a great care, I know, was in his heart, that those that he had ministered unto, and others that had believed the same truth, might thrive and prosper, and might walk as becometh the gospel of Jesus Christ.

"He was of a manly spirit in the things of God; he hath engaged himself often upon the Lord's account singly, in great disputes, when there were many opposers; he hath stood in the door, and in the gap, against all his enemies, for the worthy name of God, and taken the whole weight of things upon his own shoulder, that others might be eased; though often to the weakening, and

almost destroying of the outward man; yet doing all in love to the Lord, and for his people's sake, he did it with cheerfulness; and it was a grief to him if any opportunity was missed of doing good. He was a man of no great learning in natural tongues, which men so much applaud; yet, indeed his heart was full of matter, and his tongue was as the hand of a ready scribe; and yet he had the tongue of the learned, having had experiment of the work of the Lord; and being acquainted with many conditions, which God had carried him through, he could speak a word in season, unto all who declared their conditions unto him, or otherways in his public ministry. He was very plausible and elegant in his speech, and indeed had the tongue of a learned orator, to declare himself to the understandings and consciences of all men with whom he conversed, by which many received great profit, and their understandings came to be opened; for his words ministered grace to the hearers, and his words were forcible and very pleasant; as apples of gold in pictures of silver.

"This young man of whom I am speaking, was one of the first, with some others, who came to the city of London, where he met with no small opposition, from professors of divers forms, and also profane, who heeded no religion at all:

and the way of truth seemed contemptible, and without form or comeliness to them all, which made the opposition so great, and the labour so hard; yet notwithstanding, it pleased the Lord to reach unto the consciences of many, and many were pricked to the heart, so that they cried out: '*What shall we do to be saved?*' And God made his ministry very effectual to the conversion of many in the city of London, whereby a great change was wrought in the hearts of many; and many hundreds [were] brought to know the Lord their teacher; which are as seals unto the word of life, through him, unto this day. And many hundreds, I may say thousands, heard the lively word of God declared by him, and were convinced of the way of truth, though still remaining in the disobedience to that of God in their own hearts, unto which he declared; and many have lost their day, which they had of hearing and receiving the things of God; for now he is taken away which might have been a help unto them while they had time; and all such are not worthy of him.

"He continued in this city very much at time and times, betwixt eight and nine years together; preaching the word of God, and speaking of the things of his kingdom to all that looked after it; and great watching, travail, and exercise in the work of the Lord; and his earnest desire was, that

all might have come to know God's salvation, and the redemption of their souls; and his great diligence was known unto many, that his only rejoicing was in the prosperity of the work of the Lord, and the increase of faith amongst them that did believe.

"And his heart was much drawn towards this city, and oftentimes hath he said to me, when sufferings did come for the gospel's sake, which he knew would come: *I can freely go to that city and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth which I have declared, through the power and Spirit of God;* which in the end indeed came to be his share; and will for ever be his crown, who loved not his life unto death, for the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"And in the same year 1662, being pressed in his spirit to go visit them who were begotten unto the faith of God's elect, at the city of Bristol, and in divers other counties; at divers meetings and divers particular friends, he took his leave of them, saying to very many, that he did not know he should see their faces any more; exhorting them all to faithfulness and steadfastness in that wherein they had found rest for their souls; and said to some: *I am going up to the city of London again, to lay down my* LIFE *for the* GOSPEL, *and suffer amongst* Friends *in that place;* as having some sense of his suffering before.

"And a little after his return to the city, at a public meeting which the people of the Lord have kept these many years, to hear and speak of the things of God to edification, at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate, by certain soldiers under the command of Richard Brown, then general of the city of London, he was violently plucked down, and haled away in a barbarous manner and carried to the guard, and so committed to Newgate; not for evil doing, but for testifying unto the name of the Lord Jesus, and for the worship of God; as though this were become a great crime worthy of bonds, and at last death.

"He was had to the sessions in the Old Bailey; and his accusers were witnesses against him, and them that had abused him violently; their testimony was received as good proof against him; and at last, after two or three sessions, he was fined by the court one hundred marks, which at last was reduced to twenty marks, and to lie in prison while payment; where he continued a pretty long season, about eight months, with six or seven score prisoners besides, upon the same account; many being shut up among the felons, in nasty places; and for want of prison room, the natures of many were suffocated and corrupted; till at last many grew weak, sickened, and died.

"At last this same young man grew weak, and though a special order from the king was sent to the then sheriffs of London for the release of him, and the rest that were left in prison, yet such was the enmity of some of the rulers of the city, that they did what in them lay, to obstruct the execution of the order, that he should not be released. And so weakness grew upon him daily, though in much patience he was carried through all. In the time of his weakness he was very fervent in prayer, and that often both day and night, unto the Lord as concerning himself, and also his people; and at several times he spoke several precious words, from the sensible feeling of God's Spirit in his heart; and said: *I have had the testimony of the Lord's love unto me from my youth, and my heart hath been given up to do thy will.* And he said: *I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake; and now, Lord, rip open my heart, and see if it be not right before thee.*

"Another time he said, when he had a little ease: *There is no iniquity lies at my door; but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life I feel justify me.* Another day afterwards he said: *Thou hast loved me when I was yet unborn, and I have loved thee from my cradle and from my youth unto this day, and have served thee faithfully in my generation.* And he spoke to friends that were about him, *To live in love and peace, and love one another.* And at another time he said: *The Lord taketh the righteous from the evil to come.* And he prayed for his enemies and for his persecutors, and said: *Lord forgive Richard Brown; if he may be forgiven.*

"And though the distemper and the disease was violently upon him, yet he was preserved sensible. And in the morning before he departed this life, being sensible of his death, he said: *Now my soul and spirit is centred into its own being with God; and this form of person must return from whence it was taken.* And after a little season he gave up the ghost, and died a prisoner, and shall be recorded and is in the Lamb's book of life, as a martyr for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus, for which only he suffered and gave up his life, whose death was precious in the eyes of the Lord. But now he ever liveth with God, and his works follow him, and his labours shall testify of him in generations to come; and thousands besides myself can bear witness his life and death was to the praise, honour, and glory of the grace of God, unto whom be the glory of all his works for ever. AMEN.

"By one who hath chosen rather to suffer with the people of God called Quakers, than to enjoy

the pleasures of sin for a season; or to be reckoned as a prince amongst the uncircumcised.

"FRANCIS HOWGILL."

Reading, the 22d of the 12th Month, 1662.

The death of Edward Burrough was lamented by many others, who expressed in various testimonials, their value for him while living, and their sorrow on account of his death; which seems to have been universally felt by his surviving friends.

It appears from the account of Francis Howgill, and from some of his own expressions when near the close of life, that he was religiously inclined from early childhood: but though this was the case, we find from his own pen, in one of his early publications, that he was by no means exempt from the evil propensities of human nature. Speaking of himself before he was twelve years of age, he says: "I was wanton and light, and lived in pleasure, without the fear of God; not knowing God, but by hearsay and tradition."

About this time he grew more serious, and followed the Presbyterian and other zealous preachers of that day. When he was about seventeen years of age, his mind became more inwardly directed, and he "much separated from the vain ways of the world, and from vain worldly people." He was frequently induced to reprove others for their wicked words and actions; but notwithstanding all this, he found many evil inclinations and passions remain alive, by which his tender mind was at times much exercised; though he was disposed to indulge himself in a kind of carnal security, from the dangerous opinion, that whom God loves once he loves for ever.

It was about his seventeenth year, that "it pleased the Lord to send his true and faithful servant and messenger, George Fox;" who spoke so closely to his state, and opened the situation of his mind so clearly to him, that, after some time he united himself to the Society which was then newly formed, under the name of Quakers; among whom he became an able and powerful minister, as is already related. Finding this account of himself, previous to this time, it appeared proper to give the substance of it in addition to that of Francis Howgill.

In his first visit to London, the following extraordinary circumstance is related by Sewel,

which I give in his own words. "At London there is a custom in summer time, when the evening approaches, and tradesmen leave off working, that many lusty fellows meet in the fields to try their skill and strength in wrestling, where generally a multitude of people stand gazing in a round. Now it so fell out that Edward Burrough passed by the place where they were wrestling, and standing still among the spectators, saw how a strong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durst venture to enter the lists. At length, none being bold enough to try, Edward Burrough stept into the ring, and having looked upon the wrestler with a serious countenance, the man was not a little surprized, instead of an airy antagonist, to meet with a grave and awful young man, and all stood, as it were, amazed at this sight, eagerly expecting what would be the issue of this combat. But it was quite another fight Edward Burrough aimed at; for having already fought against spiritual wickedness, that had once prevailed on him, and having overcome in measure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured to fight also against it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention he began very seriously to speak to the standers by, and that with such a heart-piercing power, that he was heard by this mixed multitude with no less attention than admiration; for his speech tended to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God. To effect this he laboured with convincing words, showing how God had not left himself without a witness, but had given to man a measure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Christ. Thus he preached zealously; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of such effect that some were convinced of the Truth; for he was a breaker of stony hearts, and therefore, by a certain author, not unjustly called a Son of Thunder; though he omitted not, in due season, to speak a word of consolation to those that were of a broken heart and of a contrite spirit."

Edward Burrough appears to have devoted his life wholly to the service of religion. Though scarcely twenty-eight years of age when he died, besides employing his time in travelling and preaching, he wrote and published so much, as, when collected after his death, formed a close printed folio volume of 896 pages. Many of his writings are controversial; and among his opponents, or rather those whom he opposes, are the famous John Bunyan and Richard Baxter. These good men, for so I am disposed to call them, had grossly misrepresented the Quakers; and Burrough replies to them, not only with disproving

their statements and confuting their arguments, but also with many personal reflections, which charity leads me to apprehend they might not deserve. But it is lamentable to see how violently many good men, particularly in those times, were opposed to each other; yet it has afforded me some pleasure to observe, in looking through the writings of Edward Burrough and some others whose lives I have noticed, that their *early* writings were much more tinctured with violence, and an excess of zeal, than those published in the latter part of their lives. Richard Baxter, already mentioned, in this period of his life, published a Review of his Religious Opinions and Controversies, in which he shows an abatement of that violent zeal which he had entertained in early life, and he seems to allude to his controversies with Friends, when he expresses himself thus: "I am now much more apprehensive of the necessity of well grounding men in their religion, and especially of the witness of the indwelling Spirit; for I more sensibly perceive that the Spirit is the great witness of Christ in the world. And though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to overlook the strength of this testimony of the Spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal assertion or enthusiastic inspiration; yet I now see that the Holy Ghost, in another manner, is the witness of Christ, and his agent in the world."

Thus did Baxter approximate to the peculiar doctrine of Friends, though he appears still unwilling to admit their view of it to be right. It is however pleasant to see how the mind of this great Controversialist softened down, in the decline of life and in the increase of religious experience; and how much he was disposed to look more at the essentials of religion, in which christians generally are agreed, than at those lesser points on which they usually differ.

Edward Burrough was remarkable for his addresses to the ruling powers of his time, of whose proneness to persecution, and the evil consequences resulting from it, he faithfully warned them. Many of his expressions may be considered as predicting the downfall of the government which supported it; and indeed his views of civil and religious liberty, with that christian subjection which we owe to the government under which we live, are stated by him, in clear and strong language, in several of his publications.

The following paragraph from a publication, entitled, "The Case of the People called Quakers stated and published to the World," will show the uprightness and zeal of our early Friends, and the resolution with which they were prepared, to bear the sufferings imposed by their persecu-

tors: "As for our conversations amongst men, in respect of our daily walking and converse with them in our dealing, in respect of honesty, and faithfulness, and truth, and justness in works and words, our neighbours shall give witness for us. We will not justify ourselves, 'tis God that justifies us; and the law of God, gospel of Christ, scriptures, examples of holy men, our neighbours, and the witness of God in all men's consciences, shall bear witness to us. And, O Lord God everlasting! do thou judge our cause; do thou make it manifest, in thy due season, to all the world, that we are thy people; that we love thee above all; that we fear thy name more than all; that we love righteousness and hate iniquity; and that we now suffer for thy holy name and truth, and for thy honour and justice, and for thy truth and holiness. Oh Lord! Thou knowest that we are ready to perish, rather than to lose one grain thereof. Amen. Amen."

As an author, Edward Burrough was strong, and at times sublime in his language; his arguments are in general clear and convincing, and to his friends, his feeling heart often poured forth the salutations of brotherly love, judicious counsel, and affectionate sympathy. As a specimen of his writing, I shall give the following epistle, and with it shall finish this account of him; only adding

that he was one who justified the observation of an apocryphal writer, that "Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years; but wisdom is the grey hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is old age."

To the Friends of Truth, in and about London.

Dearly and well-beloved in Christ our life and glory, the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and at this time quickeneth my heart into the lively remembrance of you all; herewith sending the hearty and fervent salutation of my dear and perfect love, unto all the faithful amongst you; for the Father's love filleth my heart, and hath raised up my spirit into an holy frame and temper of gladness and rejoicing, of great joy and comfort, in the remembrance and feeling sense of what the Lord hath wrought and made manifest among his people; and the fulness of his love and rejoicing floweth out, in praising and magnifying the Lord our God for evermore.

Oh what hath the Lord wrought for us in our day! How hath his outstretched arm been made

bare again and again, for our salvation and deliverance! How many have his mercies been, and how numberless have his loving kindnesses been showed to us! How hath his power and wisdom been discovered amongst his people! by which we are quickened and revived into the life of righteousness and peace, to be servants and heirs of the Everlasting Father, the Lord of Heaven and Earth; being called by him out of darkness into his marvellous light! And how glorious is the light that hath appeared upon our tabernacle, and shined in our hearts; and that hath led us in the way of peace, and taught us in the path of righteousness! Thus and much more hath the hand of the Lord wrought for us; having raised us up to be a people, that in times past were not a people; but now he hath formed us for himself, and created us for his praise; having gathered us as a shepherd doth his flock, from our strayed estate, in which we were strangers and afar off; inhabiting in death and darkness, but now raised up to sit together in heavenly places, and to feed in the fat pastures of His fulness, that filleth all in all.

This hath been effected by the hand and power of the Most High, who hath also preserved us unto this day through many trials and tribulations; and again and again when our enemies have risen up to destroy us, even then hath the Lord

been our defence, and confounded our persecutors; so that we yet live, blessed be the name of the Lord! the remembrance of which infinite, tender mercies from the Father, that we have received, have a heavenly influence upon my heart at this time; which causeth me to say: What manner of love is this! Oh the height and depth and infiniteness of the same! The beauty thereof hath ravished my heart; the strength thereof hath overcome me; and the virtue thereof hath overcome me; and the virtue thereof hath filled my soul: and this is the present frame of my spirit, full of love and good-will to the Lord God, and to all his saints, and particularly unto you, unto whom my spirit desireth, in the Lord, increase of peace, and mercies, and blessings, and all heavenly virtue unto you all; for I am under particular engagements unto you, more than unto many.

1st, Because my labour and service in the work of the gospel hath been more amongst you than amongst others; even for divers years have I been conversant among you, in the administration of the gift of the gospel; by dispensing the word of life, to the converting of some, and to the strengthening and confirming of others, in the way of the Lord. And let the just God bear witness, of that faithfulness, and integrity, and sincerity of heart, in which he hath carried me amongst you, while

many precious days I have passed away with you, and have not sought yours but you; nor do I desire ought concerning you, but your faithfulness to the Lord; and your growth and establishment in the wisdom of Christ Jesus, and that blessings and peace may ever rest with you. And seeing it is thus that some of my precious years, in the service of God, have been spent amongst you; therefore is my heart and spirit engaged to you wards, even while I live, to advise you and exhort you, and to pray for you, that you may be found in the faith, and established in the truth, and confirmed in the possession that never fades away.

2d, In respect of that place of your outward residence, that great city I mean where Satan's seat is, and where wickedness abounds, and many temptations and provocations which may attempt to draw you from the Lord. I do know the dangers are many, which may easily be met withall in that place; there is both the love, glory, and excellency of this world near unto you, and also the terrors, threats, losses, and persecutions of this evil world, even dwelling with you; all which may work upon some, many fears and doubts, and beget temptations to the denying of the Lord. And seeing the danger is such to you wards, in that place, even more than to some others, therefore is my soul engaged to admonish, and instruct, and

pray for your preservation unto the end, that ye may walk as the Lord's, and to his glory.

3d, And also my desires are for you, that blessing and peace may be multiplied unto you, and that you may walk in the wisdom and power of the Lord, in this respect; that truth may be honoured, and crowned with dominion, and authority, and good report, in that great city, by your faithfulness, and patience, and diligence, and all the fruits of righteousness; for as many temptations do attend you, as I have said before, so also many eyes are upon you, beholding what you are, and what you do, and what will become of you. And if you walk in faithfulness and righteousness, and be preserved unto the Lord in boldness and valour, for his name's sake; this will magnify the truth, and crown it with honour, and strengthen and comfort many that are weak; and be a joy to all the upright; and it will confound your enemies, and put them to shame, and limit the unreasonable spirit of the powers of darkness, when our enemies see your just, faithful, righteous, and inoffensive manner of walking in all things. And therefore, for this cause, my heart is engaged to pray for you; seeing the eyes of many are upon you, to mark your ways and doings, and what will be the end.

And now dearly beloved, as by the free grace and kindness of God, ye are called unto this calling, and are renewed and changed into the life of righteousness; so it is by the same grace and power of the Father, that ye must stand and be preserved unto the end; for by grace and faith we all stand, even through diligence, faithfulness, and watchfulness in the same grace, being obedient unto its teachings, and fruitful in its motions, and walking by its rule, in meekness and lowliness of heart, in sincerity and godly fear; not being or doing any thing of ourselves, distinct or divided from this grace; but being and doing all things through the grace of God dwelling in us: and this is the highest perfection of saints. Every one's highest state admits of watchfulness, and faithfulness, and obedience, and to hearken to the Lord and do his will in all things; and whatsoever is of ourselves and related to the outward world, may be kept in subjection by His power, that He alone may rule, and be exalted in heaven and earth; and in all things what we are and what we do.

And wait upon the Lord, that ye may be established and settled in the truth, and that ye may be confirmed therein for ever, as being natural heirs of the possession of grace and truth, to do, and walk, and live, according to his will; being so inherited as never to go forth any more, and able

to say, *Nothing can separate us from the love of God; not death, nor life, nor any other thing.*

For I would put you in mind, and ye also know it, how that many have been touched in their heart with the sense of the Lord, and his love, yea and many have enjoyed of the good gift of God, and walked with us for a time, but have not remained unto the end; but have started aside from the Lord, and been overcome with the temptations of this world; even to the forsaking of the way of truth and righteousness; and such have dishonoured the Lord, and forfeited their place and inheritance in God, and become hardened in their hearts, and dead to God; and the latter end of such hath been worse than their beginning; though yet for a time such walked with us, and tasted of the good gifts of God, yet are become reprobates, because their hearts have not been firm, and constant, and sound, and approved to God; but of an evil frame and temper of spirit, ambitious, vain-glorious, self-seeking, and such like; which spirit could not retain the gift of God, but abused it and perverted it from its proper end.

And therefore, dearly beloved, it is exceeding precious to have a heart and spirit tried and approved of the Lord; a good and honest heart; an upright and contrite spirit; for that will abide in

faithfulness unto God, through all tribulations and trials. If the heart be right in the sight of God, whatsoever the knowledge be, or whether the gifts be little or great, yet the Lord's presence is there, and such are blessed; so that it's not enough, only to have a touch and taste of the loving-kindness of God; but every one must be established therein, in an approved heart and tried spirit; which can endure all things, and not be shaken, nor moved; and it's only that kind of spirit which is meek and lowly, sincere and upright, which is estabilised in the truth, and which only can remain immovable.

And according to the ancient doctrine of Christ, which ye have believed, every one must look to your own particular standing, and must feel your own particular joy, peace, and comfort; and must receive the assurance of life in your own souls; for it is an everlasting word. Every one must stand by their own; by what they feel and enjoy of eternal life in their own hearts; that only is every one's security and assurance, in the kingdom of peace and glory; and it is the height of perfection to have the seal of the Spirit of God in our consciences, witnessing to us *that we are the Lord's*. And blessed are they that have this testimony, even that of the Spirit of the Father, which is the everlasting comforter against all sorrow, and the perfect seal against all doubts, and the sure

guide against all opposition. This is the office of the Spirit of the Lord, and it's work in the hearts of his children.

Therefore my advice is to you, as from the beginning, look to your own, to your own measure of the gift of grace and truth; that only stands when all wanderings after men and things fall; and in that is your security as I have said.

And let your conversations and walkings be such as becometh the gospel of Christ, in all faithfulness and righteousness; that you may be an honour to the Lord in your generation; for this only have we to do in this world, even to show forth his praise and glory, who hath created us in Christ Jesus.

All things in relation to truth, are well in these countries; the dominion of truth is set up over the heads of the wicked; and it is a terror to its enemies, and the joy of all good men; and Friends are faithful in the power of the Lord, and look over this world, to the world that hath no end, and then hope and confidence is in that; and meetings are generally quiet, and the presence of the Lord is amongst his people. And thus to the grace, power, and wisdom of the Lord God, are ye

committed, who is the only Preserver of his children. *Grace and peace be with you all.*

EDWARD BURROUGH."

Underbarrow, the 18th day of the 8th month, 1661.

CHAPTER XIV.

LIFE OF HUMPHREY SMITH.

OF the time and place of Humphrey Smith's birth, or of his parentage and education, I find no trace, either in his own writings, or in those of his friends concerning him. His residence, when at home, was at Little Cawerne, in Herefordshire. He was early inclined to religion and virtue; but this disposition, so consoling to a *pious* parent, rather excited the disgust of his father, who we are told often checked him because of his solidity. In his youth, and for some time after his marriage, he underwent many close conflicts of spirit, finding much to contend with in himself, both of a natural and spiritual kind, before he could feel his mind liberated from those things which kept him in bondage, and prevented his attaining the glorious liberty of the children of God.

One of his cotemporary Friends, speaking of him, says: "He followed the zealous professors, and increased mightily in that knowledge which stands in the comprehension; yea, exceeded many of his equals; but at last the Lord separated him for his own glory, and sent him forth in his own power and eternal name."

He had been for a considerable time a minister among some of the high professors of that day, and, I suppose, about the year 1654, joined himself to the despised people called Quakers, among whom he found relief to his deeply conflicted mind, and soon afterward became a zealous and successful preacher in this society, many being added to their numbers through the means of his gospel labours.

In the year 1655, he was committed to prison at Evesham in Worcestershire, being arrested with some other Friends at a meeting there. The place of their confinement was very small, without light, or any convenience necessary for cleanliness and decency. In this place they were confined above fourteen weeks, experiencing many acts of cruelty from an unfeeling jailer, who acted under the direction, however, of a still more unfeeling magistrate, Edmund Young, the mayor of that town.

Besides this imprisonment, he suffered several others, particularly at Exeter and Winchester. In the latter place he appears to have been twice imprisoned; first in the year 1658, and the second time in 1661 & 1662. During his first confinement, he was again put into a very offensive situation; for he dates a paper entitled, "The just Complaint of the Afflicted," &c. from "a filthy prison and place unfit for men, at Winchester, this 24th of the 8th month, 1658." His latter imprisonment, which only terminated with his life, seems to have been in the same, or a similar, place. His mittimus is dated the 14th day of October, 1661; and about that time, in the succeeding year, his health sunk under his severe sufferings, from which death afforded him a release, that his cruel persecutors could not be prevailed on to grant; though his detention appears to have been as contrary to law, as it was to justice and mercy.

During his sickness he was preserved in much patience and resignation, and "spake several precious words to Friends, signifying to them that he was given up in the will of the Lord, either in life or death." At a time when the fever was strong upon him, he said: "My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend." At another time he expressed himself thus: "Lord!

thou sentest me forth to do thy will, and I have been faithful to thee in my small measure, which thou hast committed unto me; but if thou wilt yet try me further, thy will be done."

Near the time of his departure, he was engaged in earnest supplication to the Lord, that he would deliver his people from their cruel oppressors, and that those who had been convinced by him might experience the Lord to be their teacher; saying also, "O Lord! hear the inward sighs and groans of thine oppressed, and deliver my poor soul from the oppressor. O Lord! hear me. O Lord! uphold and preserve me. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Thou art strong and mighty, Oh Lord!" In this state of mind did this innocent sufferer and faithful minister of the gospel, quit this state of conflict, there is good reason to believe, for that crown of righteousness, which is the reward of those, who have fought the good fight, have kept the faith, and have loved the appearing of Jesus Christ.

During Humphrey Smith's different imprisonments, he represented his suffering case, and laid it closely upon his persecutors. In the piece already noticed, written during his confinement at Winchester, he thus addresses the magistrates of the county of Hants: "Oh, my heart is enlarged,

and I am filled with the indignation of the Lord, and overcome with the power of his might! Many woes could I from the Lord declare, and much of his judgment make known unto you; yea, many lines might I write, and unfold the mysteries of his power, which from your eyes are hid; and long hath my soul mourned in secret for you; and because of the fierce terrors of the Lord which you cannot escape, mine eyes have been filled with tears, and my heart with sorrow; and that for you, Oh ye blind, scornful, and rebellious men, that rule this county! The Lord God will bring shame upon you, and your names shall rot, and be left for an evil savour for the generations to come."

This prophetic warning was soon fulfilled upon these persecuting magistrates, who were of the high professors in the time of Oliver Cromwell. It was written in the year 1658, and in 1660, Charles the Second was admitted to the government of these realms, the consequences of which it is needless to relate.

The above was not the only instance of prophetic foresight, with which this Friend appears to have been endued. In the collection of his works, which are contained in a small quarto volume of between 3 and 400 pages, I find a piece, entitled, "The vision of Humphrey Smith which

he saw concerning London, in the 5th month in the year 1660, being not long after the king came in." In this vision he foretells a great fire in London, which accordingly took place in the year 1666. These are his words: "As for the city herself, and her suburbs, and all that belonged to her, a fire was kindled therein, but she knew not how, even in her goodly places; and the kindling of it was in the foundations of her buildings, and there was none could quench it; neither was there any able, and the burning thereof was exceeding great, and it burned inward, in a hidden manner, which cannot be expressed; and the fire consumed foundations which the city stood upon, and the tall buildings fell; and it consumed all the lofty things therein, and the fire searched out all hidden places, and burned most in secret places; but the consumation was exceeding great with which it consumed."

During his last imprisonment, and only about a month before his decease, he wrote a letter to a near relation. The excellency of the matter, and the state of mind in which it represents him, are such as lead me to believe the insertion of it will be acceptable to my readers, and form an agreeable conclusion to the account of this extraordinary man.

The letter had the following superscription:

"This for my nearly related friend Elizabeth Smith, at Little Cawerne:

"The God of Heaven that made me, and the Lord God of power that called me to obey and follow him, even in that day when I was not acquainted with his voice; and who hath been my guide, defence, succour, and comfort unto this day and moment, and who hath ever upheld me as a father, the child, by the arm of his power, whom the world neither did nor can by its wisdom ever know; who is the only wise, invisible Spirit, that upholdeth all things by the Word of his power; who is dreadful to the *Heathen* that know him not, and more precious than ever can be expressed with tongue or pen, unto those who have felt and received, and live in, the true sense of the enlarging incomes of the virtue of his power; the life whereof to them is most desirable.

My strength, life, and refuge alone is He, whose service I have no cause to decline, and whose precious, powerful call he never gave me cause to repent; for with himself he hath, and doth daily gratify me with a full reward for all, and all manner of my manifold trials, and daily sufferings and exercises which I meet with in the way; but really

and absolutely I can truly say, that none of these things move me in the least, from that foundation upon which the God of Heaven and Earth hath long since established me, that I might stand for Him, and the glory of his name, who hath both set and appointed me thereunto, and given me courage as a fortified tower, to stand as a mark for the adversaries of Sion, to vent forth the utmost of their limited fury.

And in the Lord my strength is my confidence; neither have I believed that ever I should distrust Him, though since the day that I have known him, he hath even suffered the sorrows of death, and the pangs of hell, and the powers of unutterable darkness, at some times, to compass me in on every side, and to lift up themselves in the vaunting arrogancy of the swelling pride thereof, as mountains never to be removed. But behold He who hath his way in the whirlwind, and his path through the midst of the deepest ocean. Him alone it was that my broken heart was, by the power of his constraining love, resolved to follow for ever, even through the greatest difficulties, and the hardest straits, trials, and hardships, with all manner of inward and outward sufferings, that might be permitted to happen unto, or fall upon, any one of the children of men.

O that I could now sufficiently declare his goodness, and so fully and effectually make mention of his power, as it deserveth; or as the Lord hath given into my heart to desire of him to be made use of, in the declaration or manifestation thereof, in this my day, unto the sons or children of men! Surely when I am waiting of him, and of his unutterable goodness and power, my words and lines are also short of setting forth the virtue and fulness of the most unexpressible, divine excellency thereof, that sometimes I am rather ready to dwell in silence with and in the fulness thereof, which overcomes with unutterable virtue, than to be writing of that which in itself can never be written, though what is written, may be by, and with, and from the overflowings of the same; and so be as drops or little streams of heavenly water, to refresh the dry and thirsty land, which therein doth its service; and then the praise thereof is to return unto Him who is the alone fountain of all virtue, and the life which giveth life, even unto the dead that hear his voice; whereby He comes to be known to be *Infinite* in wisdom, power, and virtue; whom my soul doth honour, my heart doth praise, and my spirit adoreth for ever; for none is like to Him, neither doth my soul desire any other but Him, whilst in this body, or for evermore in the life which yet doth come.

Let all that know Him bow before him; and let all that hear his voice be humble and meek, and let every one that truly desires after him, wait with diligence and in patience upon Him; and let all that are faithful to him, rejoice in his love, and prize him for much more than the liberty of their bodies, or the enjoyment of thousands and thousands of thousands of temporal, visible, earthly things; all which are his, and He is ours; yea He is certainly mine and I am his, and my soul doth magnify him, and my spirit doth yet breathe, further to sound forth his praises, not only all the days of my life, whilst in this earthly tabernacle; but likewise in the hearts of thousands of them yet unborn, and among the generations that are yet to come, by my faithful, upright testimony, and the record thereof, which may remain, when the God and Father of my life hath gathered me, with the rest of his servants of old, to live with Him, in the delightsome ocean, of the infinite fulness of his most desirable power, and precious presence; the streams whereof already are as the free issuings forth of life eternal, and as the streams of mercy, and the dews of the morning, refreshing even the outmost borders of my dwelling, and comforting the mournful places of my habitation.

Who can express his goodness! What man can utter his bounty! or how can man either in

words or with pen, sufficiently signify forth, the fulness and virtue of that which passeth knowledge! Behold my dwelling is in it, and my life is bound up with the innocent lambs, who live in the feeling virtue of that, which much superaboundeth the most pleasant and delightsome words, that ever my tongue can utter, and yet those that hear them, hear the truth, in the which the life doth stand; and they that hear the truth, hear Him from whence the life doth come; which life itself, in the power and virtue of it, is the centre of the upright, the refuge of the innocent, and the thing itself unto which itself is drawing and gathering, that it may be known within; even to those who have been astray therefrom, that the *one fold*, the *one succour*, the *one food*, the *one shepherd*, the *one refuge*, the *one spirit*, the *one heart*, and the *one mind*, may be known; and so the *one God*, in the *only one unity*, worshipped, served, and praised, from the power, life, and virtue of *the one Spirit*, which comes from the only *one God of heaven and earth;* before whom let the *heathen be astonished, and the ungodly fear and tremble, and the brambles of the earth prepare for the day of his righteous judgments and fiery indignation;* [with] *which, as the breath of his nostrils, being mixed with flames of endless burnings, He will plead with his own open adversaries; which shall be more fully manifest, in the great day of the Lord,*

when all mankind must give an account to Him, both of idle and wicked words; and likewise of their deeds done in the body.

"The Lord God hasten that day, and let Him come, even Him who cometh as a thief in the night, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who said, '*I am the Truth,*' the Spirit whereof the world cannot receive, but we have known him, and received him, and know that he is true, and have believed on him, and have often drunk of the living water that springeth up unto life eternal, in those that truly believe. And this I say, for ever blessed are they that believe and endure to the end; for whom God's crown of life is prepared, and for all who give up their lives, and suffer faithfully for the honour of him, who hath so far honoured them, as to account them worthy to bear their testimony and to suffer for him; in the which, I say, the Lord preserve my friends and brethren every where, who have tasted of God's loving kindness, and remain sensible at present of the meekness of his love. And let all Friends so dwell in the faith which is the gift of God over the world, as to live thereby, and not to lose the crown of glory and immortality, which was desired from the breathings of the seed, in the days of Jacob's captivity.

And the Lord God of my life, preserve and defend the plants of righteousness, even by his own power, and his own Spirit, in that day, and at that time, when all other helps may not be available; that then the sufficiency of the greatness of his own wisdom and strength, may be apparent; and then, most happy shall those be, who are found worthy to suffer and endure all manner of trials, cruelties, and hardships, for Him and his name's sake; and to live and reign, and enjoy his unutterable peace and rest, which is in himself, treasured up as a *full reward;* and much more than could have been expected, for the upright in heart, who end their days in truth, and finish their course in righteousness, and lay down their lives for his sake, to live with him evermore.

"And this is that thou and others may hear from me, and know that I remain in the service of God, and in faithful long-sufferings for the gospel of his Son, as at this day, being the 6th of the 7th month, 1662, in the strait prison at Winchester, where I am known by this name,

HUMPHREY SMITH."

CHAPTER XV.

LIFE OF JOHN AUDLAND.

JOHN AUDLAND has been already mentioned in the life of John Camm, who was his intimate friend and frequent companion in gospel labour. John Audland was born of respectable parents, in the neighbourhood of his friend's residence, not far from Kendal, about the year 1630. Whilst a child he was disposed to youthful amusements; but when about seventeen years of age, he became religiously inclined. He read the Holy Scriptures diligently, associating himself with the most religious people he could find. Having a good understanding and retentive memory, he became, like Apollos, "mighty in the Scriptures;" could discourse largely of religion, and became an eminent teacher in a society which was separated from the national way of worship. But though a dissenter, he frequently attended the public places of

worship, where he often preached to the people, and many flocked to hear him.

This he practised before he joined the Society called Quakers, and the circumstance is a confirmation of a remark in the preceding volume, that this practice was not unfrequent in those times, and takes off much of the objection which has been made to our Friends preaching in those places, even after the minister had finished his service. And here I shall once for all remark, that I find very few instances of our Friends interrupting the minister, while engaged in preaching, a practice which I think requires something very extraordinary to justify it. Yet I remember a few years ago a circumstance of this kind occurred, in a Popish congregation in Ireland, in which the conduct of the zealous opposer appeared to be generally admired; nor do I recollect any censure being passed upon it by the Protestant writers who noticed it. So differently do we feel, according to our different opinions or interests.

But to return from this digression, John Audland continued to minister among a particular class of dissenters, until the memorable meeting at Firbank Chapel, where he had preached, the day George Fox came there. After this meeting, George Fox went to John Audland's house,

and by the instrumentality of the public ministry and private endeavours of that eminent and successful gospel labourer, John Audland was so fully convinced of the rectitude of the doctrines preached, that he, as did many others, laid aside their high profession, and joined in fellowship with a despised but simple-hearted people, among whom they found that rest and peace which their souls had long sought after. He was now brought into a state of deep humiliation and self-abasement. "A great hunger and thirst," to use the words of Tho. Camm, "the Lord having raised in his heart and soul, for a Saviour, one of a thousand, that could give a ransom for his soul, and redeem him from the pit of corruption; for he saw all his great profession, all his wisdom and knowledge, could not help him." In this state of mind he continued a considerable time; but the Lord heard his humble prayers, and brought his soul out of the depths into which it had been plunged, enabling him to rejoice with the joy of salvation, and qualifying him for speaking a word in due season to the afflicted traveller Zionward. He soon became a public and able minister "the Lord anointing him to preach and publish redemption in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and deliverance to the captive exile, in which work he was found faithful, being filled with power and might from on high, and girded with the strength of the Almighty."

At this time I suppose John Audland to have been in the twenty-third year of his age. In his twenty-first year he had married Ann Newby, a virtuous and religious young woman of Kendal, who proved a true helpmeet to him in every respect. He now gave himself up to the service of the ministry, and great success attended his gospel labours.

About the year 1654, he travelled southward with several of his friends, who, dividing themselves, went into different parts, and met afterward in London. John Audland, accompanied by Thomas Airey, had been at Bristol in his way to the Metropolis, and after spending some time in London, he returned to Bristol, accompanied by his particular friend, John Camm. In his first visit to this city, he had held several meetings with the Independents and Baptists, in their own meeting-houses; but he and his present companion now held many meetings in more public places. The success of their labours is already noticed in the life of John Camm. John Audland being in the vigour of youth, and zealous to promote the good cause which he had espoused, exerted himself very much in the large meetings which were held in the open air, in Bristol and its neighbourhood. By this, together with the bodily sufferings he underwent from the abuse of the rabble and the persecution

of the magistrates, it appears likely that a foundation was laid for that pulmonary disorder which terminated his life about nine years after.

Respecting one of these meetings at Bristol, William Sewel gives this account: "In a meeting which he once had in a field without Bristol, after John Camm had left off speaking, he stood up with an awful and shining countenance, and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, he said: 'I proclaim a spiritual war with the inhabitants of the earth, who are in the fall and separation from God, and I prophesy to the four winds of heaven.' Thus he went on with mighty power, exhorting to repentance, and spoke with such a piercing authority, that some of the auditory fell on the ground, and cried out under the sense of their transgressions."

Charles Marshall, who calls John Audland "his father in Christ Jesus," gives a similar account of this meeting, and adds: "Indeed it was a notable day, worthy to be left on record, that our children may read and tell to their children, and theirs to another generation, that the worthy noble acts of the arm of God's salvation may be remembered."

After his return from this journey, he was engaged in religious visits to other places. In the

year 1656, his beloved friend and fellow-labourer, John Camm, was removed from him by death. This loss was closely felt by John Audland. It was, however, in some measure supplied by his friend's son, Thomas Camm, who afterwards became Audland's frequent companion in his gospel labours, which he continued as long as his bodily health permitted.

When his health began materially to decline, does not clearly appear. In the year 1663, he became confined by indisposition, during which time he often said: "Ah! those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol, I may not forget! I would so gladly have spread my net over all, and have gathered all, that I forgot myself; never considering the inability of my body. But it's well; my reward is with me, and I am content to give up and be with the Lord; for that my soul values above all things."

In the course of his illness he had a dream, or vision, respecting two of his friends and fellow-labourers in the work of the ministry. As it contains some instructive matter, I shall give the substance of it as related by his widow. "He saw a very large mine, where there was very much precious ore to be digged out, but with great and hard labour. And the Lord and Master had called

him with many more to labour in this mine, in order to work and dig out this good and precious ore; and he who was most diligent in labour, was to be most liberally rewarded. Now the command was, that they might work in every part of the mine, but must all gather to one place and to one heap; and the work prospered and became exceedingly great to the glory of the Lord, and their joy and comfort who were found diligent. In process of time he looked behind him upon others that were labouring, and amongst them beheld two, who had been ancient labourers, to begin to slack, and would but work where it was most easy, in their own time, and by their own appointment; not regarding the command of their Lord; and not only so, but when they found a piece of ore more rich and goodly than some other, whether it was of their own digging or not, they did gather it to another private heap of their own for themselves, to their own benefit, and not the Lord's.

"On seeing this, he cried out in the grief and bitterness of his exercise, to see such disobey the Lord's command, 'Ah, Lord! it was thy command that we should all work at thy appointment, and gather to one heap; and for a time it was so, and thy heap increased and thy work prospered; but now there are two that have begun to gather to their own heap, and not to thee." The exercise

of mind he was now under awoke him, and his wife finding him much affected, he informed her the cause, and told her he believed the thing would come to pass, which it accordingly did in the course of a few years.

His hectic fever increasing upon him, with loss of sleep and other symptoms, which indicated his approaching dissolution, he was often visited by his friends and neighbours, by whom he was much beloved. In these visits his mouth was frequently opened in religious communications, to the great refreshment of his friends; and often, whilst in bed, would he raise himself on his knees, and fervently pray for them, and that the Lord would prosper his work, in this and surrounding nations.

In this state of mind he continued to the end, saying, That there was nothing for which he desired to live, except the comfortable enjoyment of his friends, in the fellowship of the life of truth; and that he might be a comfort to his beloved wife. Her situation was at this time particularly trying, being delivered of a son about ten days after her husband's decease. But, though closely attached to each other, resignation to the Divine will, appears in a remarkable manner to have been attained by them both. To God he often recommended his dear wife and child, encouraging her to give him up to the will of the Almighty, "whose," said he, "I am, being made acceptable in his beloved Son."

Thus did this faithful labourer in the Lord's vineyard, terminate his short but devoted life, on the 24th of the 1st month, 1663. He was interred the day following at Birkrigg Park, where the remains of his friend John Camm had been deposited about six years before.

John Audland did not publish much from the press. His printed works, except two or three controversial pieces, consist of Epistles to his Friends, for whom he possessed much love; and there is reason to believe he was no less beloved by them. He appears indeed by various accounts to have been of a very amiable disposition and a comely person. He was also a man of good natural abilities, of a noble spirit, and an humble heart. These accomplishments being united with much religious knowledge and experience, rendered his company pleasing and instructing. In his ministerial communications he was large and affecting, having a word in season to all conditions. While he possessed great respect and esteem for those who were in Christ before him, he entertained much tenderness to such as were young in

the ministry, being always ready to encourage and give place to them. In short, he was abundantly furnished both with natural and spiritual gifts, which he exercised to the praise and glory of Him who gave them.

CHAPTER XVI.

LIFE OF WILLIAM CATON.

IT is not easy exactly to ascertain either the place or the time of William Caton's birth, but I suppose he was born somewhere in Lancashire, and about the year 1636. His parents appear to have been careful in his education, both with regard to religion and learning; and he being a child seriously disposed and of good abilities, their care respecting him was not in vain. When he was about fourteen years of age, his father took him to Judge Fell's, at Swarthmore Hall, to be educated with his son, by a priest who was related to the Catons. Here William became the companion of the judge's son, both in his studies and amusements. To be placed in so respectable and valuable a family, produced feelings of gratitude to Divine Providence for so great a favour; and

his mind being frequently brought under religious considerations and impressions, he was often engaged in secret supplications to the Divine Being; and the worldly enjoyments and pleasures of which he partook, became as matters of inferior importance.

After some time of private instruction, William Caton went with the son of Judge Fell to a school at Hawkshead. While at this school he met with many temptations, and much unprofitable company. The lads did not continue long here, but soon returned to Swarthmore. In both these situations Caton was often humbled under a sense of Divine love and mercy to his soul; though at times under close conviction for sin and disobedience. He was now about fifteen years of age; and it being much the practice in the judge's family to repeat the sermons which they had heard, and to paraphrase upon them, he endeavoured to accomplish himself this way, but without the satisfaction which his soul desired.

While matters stood thus, George Fox paid his first visit to Judge Fell's. This was in the year 1652. William Caton was at first disgusted with George Fox's non-compliance with customs and salutations, to which he had been used. There was, however, a secret something which attracted

his mind to this minister of the gospel, and to the testimony which he bore to the Light of Christ in the heart. He therefore was, with the rest of the family, except the judge, who was not at home, so effectually reached by the ministry of George Fox, as to be convinced of the truth of the doctrine which he taught.

The witness for God in his conscience being thus awakened, he became humbled under a sense of his sins; but the evil nature was not yet fully subjected, and he underwent many close conflicts before he experienced his mind settled in peace. During this time of exercise, his friend Margaret Fell, the judge's wife, took notice of him, and employed him at home to teach her younger children, which preserved him from many unpleasant circumstances that he might have met with at school. She also made him her amanuensis, and took him with her into the company of her friends, by which he was much edified, and his mind increasingly drawn into love and unity with those, to whom she had then attached herself.

He was now seventeen years of age, and having undergone those dispensations, which may be compared to the fire, the sword, and the hammer, he was afterwards introduced into a state of spiritual enjoyment, under which he could say: "Oh the

preciousness and excellency of that day! Oh! the glory and the blessedness of that day! How should I demonstrate it; or by what means should I explain it, that generations to come might understand it, and give praise to the Lord Jehovah!"

William Caton, who wrote an account of his own life, enlarges much on the benefits and enjoyments of which he partook whilst in this excellent family at Swarthmore, which was then and for many years afterwards much distinguished for its hospitality and for its general reception of the members of the new society. Caton says that Friends from five or six counties would frequently be there at the same time; and George Fox frequently resorting there during the years 1652 and 1653, Caton had many opportunities of partaking of his instructive society; from which he received much religious benefit; George Fox treating him with much fatherly attention and kindness; Margaret Fell, as already noticed, was also very attentive to him, and acted the part of a mother in every respect.

These great advantages were not lost upon this young man's improveable mind. He grew in that grace and saving knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, to which it was the peculiar care of the ministers of this society to turn the attention of those among whom they ministered. He not only

experienced the work of his own soul's salvation to go forward; but feeling the love of God shed abroad in his heart, and a zeal for the cause of truth and righteousness, he became constrained under these feelings some times to attend the public places of worship, and "to declare," as he himself expresses it, "against the deceit of the priests and the sins of the people; and to warn all to repent. He now subjected himself to much bodily suffering; but this was little to him in comparison of the inward enjoyments of which he partook; so that his experience was like that which the holy apostle mentions: "As our sufferings abound in Christ, so also doth our consolation abound by Christ."

William Caton continued at Swarthmore till the 11th month, 1654, when, though only in the nineteenth year of his age, he became concerned to visit his friends in some of the southern parts of the nation. His separation from the family where he had so long and so comfortably resided, was a close trial to their mutual friendship; but the consideration of the good cause in which he was about to engage, reconciled their minds to the trying separation; and they parted from each other in the sense of much love and unity.

Leaving Swarthmore, he passed through Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire to Badgley or

Badesley, in the county of Warwick. Here he met with a considerable number of his brethren, from whom he received much encouragement. He proceeded thence to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, where he found many who had been convinced of the same docrines which he had embraced, and they were much refreshed together.

While at Wellingborough he was imprisoned a single night, and the next day released. He next travelled to Cambridge, where he had a good opportunity to visit his friends; after which he proceeded to Norwich. It was now the depth of winter, and he and his companion travelling on foot, they had many difficulties to encounter in their journey. At Norwich they found several north country Friends in prison, whom, he says, "we visited, and with whom we were sweetly refreshed."

After some public service in this city, he proceeded towards London, where he was cordially received by his friends; and in a little time several other Friends from the north came there. At one time there were ten or twelve ministers in the city, "most of us," to use his own words, "came out of the North, even plain, honest, upright men, such as the Lord was pleased to make use of in that day; and very diligent we were in his work night and day,

labouring faithfully, as much as in us lay, to exalt his name over all, and make his truth and salvation known even unto all."

During his stay in London he met with John Stubbs, with whom, after finishing his service in the city, he travelled into Kent. In this county they had much religious service; and Luke Howard, of Dover, and Samuel Fisher, of Lydd, were among the fruits of their gospel labours; these two useful members of the society being convinced by the means of their ministry. Between Dover and Lydd they visited Folkstone, Hide, and Romney, in all which places they met with considerable success, though sometimes it was attended with much bodily suffering. From Lydd they went to Ashford, Tenterden, Cranbrook, and Staplehurst. At the two last places they met with a people who were ready to receive their testimony; and, to use Caton's own words, "several large and precious meetings we had among them; and the power and presence of the Lord was much with us, in which we rejoiced together, freely distributing the Word of Life unto them, which at that time dwelt richly and plenteously in our hearts." At these places the people pressed them to take some money, which they found some difficulty in refusing to accept.

These appear to have been the first Friends who visited Kent, and established meetings in that

county. On their return towards London, they came to Maidstone, where they underwent some cruel persecution. They were here on the first day of the week; and John Stubbs went to the public place of worship, and William Caton to the meeting of the Independents. John was sent that day to the house of correction, and William the day following. After being plundered of the contents of their pockets, they were stripped, and their necks and arms put into the stocks. When released from this situation, they were put in irons or great logs of wood, and then required to work. This they refused, having broken no law, and they were kept several days with the allowance of only a little water. Some women, and even the malefactors, would have given them some provisions, but they declined accepting their kindness. After a few days, the report of this cruel treatment spread into the town, and the magistrates became so ashamed, that they restored some of the property taken from them, and conveyed them out of the town in different directions, neither of them knowing where the other was gone. They, however, soon met in London, and found their minds engaged to return to the place where they had been so cruelly treated. This was no small trial of their faith and obedience; but being resigned to the service, they went again into Kent, and to Maidstone, where however they met with no ma-

terial opposition; but afterwards passed by Canterbury and Sandwich to Dover.

While William Caton was at Dover, he found his mind engaged to pass over to Calais. This was in the 4th month, 1655. On his arrival at this town, he found its inhabitants greatly sunk in superstition and idolatry. This was very distressing to his feeling mind; and not being able to speak French, he could not easily relieve himself of the burden which he was under; but after being there a little time, during which he generally resided in a ship, some of the most respectable inhabitants, hearing of him, sent to the vessel, and had him conveyed to a house, where many of the principal people were gathered together, and a Scotch nobleman being in company, he acted as interpreter. "I had," says William Caton, "a very gallant opportunity to declare the truth among them; and precious dominion the Lord was pleased to give me over their vain, light, frothy minds and spirits."

Soon after this opportunity, he felt himself at liberty to return to Dover, where he found his companion John Stubbs, who inclining to go to Holland, William Caton was diposed to accompany him. They went by Gravesend and Colchester to Yarmouth. Here they waited about three weeks for a passage, and when they were

taken into the vessel in which they expected to be conveyed, the master finding who and what they were, sent them again to land. After this disappointment they went to Sunderland, from which place William Caton went to visit his friends at Swarthmore, by whose society he was, as usual, much refreshed.

After he had spent some time at this hospitable mansion, he went to Shields, whence he and John Stubbs sailed in a vessel for Flushing in Zealand; where and at Middleburgh they had some religious service, attended also with some bodily suffering. They did not stay long here, but took shipping for Rotterdam, where their service was much limited by not being able to speak the language of the country, and not having a faithful interpreter. They were the first Friends who visited this city and country; but after they had relieved their minds here, they again took shipping for Zealand, and thence for England. After a stormy passage, they landed at Hartlepool, whence William Caton went through the county of Durham, &c. to his home at Swarthmore.

He did not continue long out of service, but soon left Swarthmore to visit some parts of Scotland, his friend John Stubbs again joining him. It was in the beginning of the 10th month, now

the 12th, that they entered this country by Berwick, where William Caton was put out of the town; but afterwards returned. After some religious service here, they proceeded to Edinburgh, where they separated in much love. William Caton continued in Edinburgh several weeks, having good service there, accompanied by a Friend of the name of John Slee, who joined him after the departure of his former companion. From Edinburgh he travelled to Stirling, Glasgow, and Douglas, in which places he had opportunities of exercising his ministerial gift with some success, and with relief to his own mind. From Douglas he travelled towards England, and again reached Swarthmore before the expiration of the year 1655, according to the Old Style.

This was certainly a year very closely occupied by William Caton. His first departure from Swarthmore was, as is already noticed, in the 11th month, 1654-5; and we now see how much he had travelled and laboured in the work of the gospel, before the commencement of the year 1656, and all this before he was twenty years of age. My readers' reflections will, I apprehend, supersede the necessity of any remarks from me on so extraordinary a circumstance.

About the middle of the 1st month, 1655-6, he left Swarthmore again on a religious visit into

Lancashire, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, in which counties he and his companion, William Simpson, had good service; though not without some bodily sufferings. At Congerton they were imprisoned a few days, and then released. William Caton, about this time, attended a large general meeting in Leicestershire, where he met with his much-valued friend George Fox, whose company as well as the meetings, tended greatly to his comfort and satisfaction.

In the 3d month, 1656, he again left Swarthmore for Scotland; and on his return from that country, he travelled into the south-west parts of England, accompanied by Walter Clements. At Bristol they were more than a little refreshed with Friends, and with seeing how the truth prospered among them." Proceeding into Cornwall, he visited George Fox and some other Friends, who were prisoners in Launceston jail, " where," says Caton, " my refreshment was so much, that my cup was made to overflow."

His companion, it seems, had parted from him at Bristol, to which city he now returned through Devonshire. At Totness he was apprehended, and sent by a pass from one place to another. Being known to be a Quaker, and not a pauper, people were attracted by the circumstance to the

places where he was, which afforded him many opportunities of preaching, and spreading among the people the doctrines which he taught.

Coming to Bristol, he found Francis Howgill, John Audland, and several other of his brethren there from distant parts, by whose society he was much comforted. He now travelled towards Kent, where he visited those in particular, among whom he had successfully laboured, when in that county before. Here I shall transcribe from his own account, the state of his mind at this time: " Many precious and large meetings I had in the county; and the Lord was very much with me, who furnished me plentifully with his word and power, insomuch that I stood admiring at sundry times from whence I had that fulness. And it was not by me only, but by many more, who looking with the eye of reason on my earthly tabernacle, could not expect any great thing from me, being then but about twenty years of age. Yet plenty of heavenly things the Lord was pleased to open in me and through me, to the end that I might communicate the same to the multitude; which sometimes being very great, I was ready to say within myself, where shall I have wherewithal to satisfy all these? When I looked at my own weakness and insufficiency as of myself, I was ready to faint; but when I looked only at the

Lord, and put my confidence entirely in Him, I was strong and courageous. For the Lord showed me by his eternal light, on a time when I was bemoaning my own weakness, and groaning under a sense of the weight of the burden of the service and work of the Lord, saying or thinking within myself, Oh! such and such are so and so fitted and furnished, that they need not care what service they are called unto, but as for me, I am so simple, I am so weak, and I never have any thing before hand, neither do scarce ever know when I go into a meeting of several hundreds, what I shall say, or whether any thing or nothing; yea, when I was full of these and such like reasonings, the Lord showed me, how they that had much had nothing over, and they that had little had no lack, even as it was with the Israelites of old."

Entering meetings in this humble, dependent state of mind, he further observes: "The Lord hath been pleased to give me his word so plentifully, that through Him I was enabled to speak two, three, yea sometimes four hours in a meeting, with little or no intermission; and often it hath been with me, that as I knew not before the meeting what I should speak in the meeting, neither could I well remember after the meeting what I had spoken in it. Now these things I rehearse not for my own praise, but do say, Not unto me, not unto me, that have nothing but what I

have received, be the praise, but unto the Lord alone who is the giver of every good and perfect gift."

William Caton continued visiting his friends in England, Scotland, and Holland, till the year 1662, when he was married at Amsterdam to Anneken Dirricks. His marriage, however, did not much interrupt his religious service, for in less than three months after its accomplishment, he was engaged to go to England on a religious visit; and a few months after his return to Holland, he went again into England, taking his wife with him. When they had been sometime together in this country, she returned to Holland, and he travelled northward, attending meetings in his way from London to Swarthmore; where, after visiting Friends in the neighbouring counties, he returned, and paid his last visit. George Fox being there, his company added to the pleasure and profit, which that seat of christian beneficence had always afforded him. He took his leave of them "in the fulnes of endeared love, and much brokenness of heart;" and travelled through the county of Durham to Sunderland, where not meeting with a vessel ready to sail for Holland, and inclining to visit Friends in some other places, he went by Shotten, Stockton, and Whitby, to Scarbrough, where, after visiting Friends, he took shipping for Holland. The voyage

proved very tempestuous, and the ship leaky. At length they put into Yarmouth Roads, and while detained there, William Caton went on shore to visit his friends. Being there on the first day of the week, he attended a meeting, where he, with several others under similar circumstances, were apprehended and sent to prison, in which they were confined six months, because they would not take an oath. They were committed on the 4th of 8th month, 1663, and liberated on the 22d of 2d month, 1664.

Here ends William Caton's own account of himself; and I find nothing further of consequence recorded of him till his death in the 10th month of the following year, 1665. He was the author of several publications, among which is an Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilius. William Sewel, who was personally acquainted with Caton, says of him: "He was a man not only of literature and zealous for religion, but of a courteous and affable temper and conversation, by which he was in good esteem among those he was acquainted with." He appears indeed to have been a man of great worth; and his removal would, no doubt, be much felt by his friends. But there is great reason to believe that he was one of those who could say, with a holy apostle, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

CHAPTER XVII.

LIFE OF SAMUEL FISHER.

IN the preceding Memoir, the conversion of Samuel Fisher to the principles of the Quakers, is noticed as the effect of the ministry of William Caton and John Stubbs. The time and place of his birth I have not been able to ascertain. He was educated at one of the universities, and entering into holy orders, as they are called, he first became chaplain to some person of quality, and afterwards was made priest of Lydd in Kent, a living at that time worth about two hundred pounds per annum. While in this situation, he was requested by the master of Luke Howard, an apprentice to a shoemaker at Dover, to converse with the young man respecting a scruple which he entertained about the singing of David's Psalms in places of public worship. Howard explained the reasons of his uneasiness with that practice in such a manner, that Fisher, rather than Howard, was altered in opinion on the subject.

The arguments used on this occasion were these, that God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth; but that it was contrary to

truth for a proud man to sing, he was not puffed up in mind, that he had no scornful eye, and did not exercise himself in things too high for him. Further, to sing, rivers of tears run down my eyes, because other men keep not thy law, when those who thus sing, never knew true repentance for their own sins, was such a violation of common morality, as true religion could not sanction.

By this conversation, Fisher, who had already entertained some dissatisfaction with various matters connected with his present employment, grew more uneasy with it. Preaching for hire, and the baptism of infants, became a burden to his tender, feeling mind; and so great was his dedication to that which appeared to be his religious duty, that he voluntarily resigned his lucrative situation, took a farm for the support of his family, and joined himself in society with the Baptists, by whom he was highly esteemed; and he became a minister among them.

When Caton and Stubbs went into those parts, Fisher hospitably entertained them in his house; and their gospel labours made some impression on his mind, though he did not then acknowledge it. After leaving Lydd, and visiting some places thereabout, they returned thither again, when they found their former labours had been blessed, and many persons were now ready to join them. George Hammond, however, a Baptist preacher, publicly

preached against them; which gave Samuel Fisher so much uneasiness, that he stood up in the same meeting, and said to Hammond: "Dear Brother, you are very near and dear to me, but the truth is nearer and dearer. This is the everlasting truth and gospel." This was very trying to Hammond; and, with a mixture of anger and sorrow, he exclaimed: "Our brother Fisher is also bewitched." Fisher made no reply, but attaching himself still more closely to Caton and Stubbs, he joined the religious society to which they belonged. This was in the year 1655.

In the following year Cromwell convened the parliament, which met on the 17th of the 7th month, in the Painted Chamber, Whitehall. Fisher had been under a great exercise for several days, from an apprehension of duty to go there at that time, and to deliver what he considered a message from the Lord to the Protector and Parliament. After much secret conflict of spirit, he resigned himself to this duty, and went to the Painted Chamber at the time appointed. The Protector made a long speech, in the course of which he said, he knew not of one man that suffered imprisonment unjustly in England. As soon as Cromwell had finished his speech, Fisher attempted to deliver what was upon his mind; but he had proceeded a very little in his intended speech, before he was interrupted with the cry of, "A

Quaker, a Quaker; keep him down, he shall not speak." He however proceeded as long as he possibly could, and believed the Protector and Parliament men would have heard him, had not others violently opposed and prevented his speaking.

Being thus prevented from verbally communicating that which was upon his mind, he committed it to writing and published it. The following quotation will show the very low opinion he entertained of the then ruling party in the nation, and the plainness of speech with which he delivered his message, or rather the message of the Lord, to them.

After some introductory words, he expresses himself thus: "Ye are a seed of evil doers, saith the Lord; an hypocritical generation, a people whose heart is not right, and whose spirit is not steadfast with the Lord. Ye have made many shows of seeking my face, but ye have not found it, because ye have not sought it in sincerity. Ye have talked much of turning unto me, but ye have never done it yet with all your hearts; but feignedly, saith the Lord. Ye have seemed much to inquire after me in your long prayers, as if ye did delight to know my ways; but my ways, which are ways of purity, peace, and pleasantness, though grievous to the wicked, ye yet know not, so well as ye might do, did ye stand in my counsel; and so far forth as ye do know of them, ye have no

delight to walk in them, so strait and rugged are they to that nature which ye yet remain in. Ye call out to me after light, as if ye were very desirous to be enlightened; but ye are haters of my light and my life, saith the Lord, even the light in the conscience which I have placed in every one of you. This ye come not closely to, lest ye should be reproved by it, but love darkness more than it, because your deeds are evil.

"Ye have fasted often and hung down your heads like a bulrush for a day; but ye have never yet fasted unto me, saith the Lord. You find your own pleasure still; the bands of wickedness are not loosed; you are captivated still in the cords of your own sins; neither have you, in the midst of all your abstinence, abstained yet from the fleshly lusts which war against your souls; but are as proud as ever, as pompous and vain as ever, as luxurious and wanton; as covetous and earthly-minded; as self-seeking; as time-serving; as men-pleasing; as oppressing and unrighteous as before. Ye have often fasted for, but never fully from, your iniquities to this day, saith the Lord. Ye would be counted professors, yea promoters of religion, but are indeed persecutors of the very life and power, and of that people that do believe in the life and power of that same religion, which in form and words ye have long professed."

After a long remonstrance of this kind, and laying before Oliver and his Parliament the great inconsistency of their conduct, with the spirit of christianity; and predicting their disgrace and downfall, he concludes thus: "What shall one then answer the messengers of the nations? Even this, that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people have betaken themselves unto it. But all luxurious, wanton, and covetous worldlings, all formal professors and dissembling hypocrites, painted sepulchres and whited walls, base backsliders, and filthy liars, hireling priests and fawning prophets, and all proud oppressors and wicked opposers, and persecutors of Christ in his people, can have no share in it; but are shut out into the lake, and gone down for ever with the uncircumcised into the pit, which hath shut her mouth upon them there, world without end, to be confounded."

Thus plainly did our early Friends deal with that "hypocritical generation," who under pretensions of promoting liberty, both civil and religious, had proved more cruel persecutors than those who had gone before them, and many of them became so darkened in their understandings, as even to plead for persecution and to pray against the spreading of a spirit of toleration. No wonder then that the indignation both of God and of good men was kindled against such a people as this.

The 24th of the 7th month was appointed a day for a public fast and humiliation; and Fisher again attempted to relieve his exercised mind in a public manner. For this purpose he attended the parish worship-house called St. Margaret's, in Westminster. This was the place where the members of parliament were to attend. After two of their ministers had finished their sermons, Fisher attempted to relieve his mind, but with no better success than before. He therefore had recourse to the same expedient, and committed to writing the substance of what he would have verbally communicated. Indeed it is probable he rather enlarged than contracted it; as the piece consists of eight folio pages, and contains much excellent advice as well as close remonstrance on various subjects relating to their public and private conduct.

In the year 1659, he accompanied Edward Burrough to Dunkirk, where they visited the Capuchin and other Friars; also the Jesuits; and had some discourse with them on the subject of the Light of Christ; and warned them of the day that would come upon their idolatrous ways, worships, and works. They had also religious meetings with the English soldiers and their officers; Dunkirk being at that time in possession of the English. They were sent for on their landing by Colonel Alsop, deputy-governor to Lockhart, and when Lockhart returned he also sent for them. To these persons

they explained the nature of their concern, and were civilly treated by them.

Having performed their service at Dunkirk, they returned to England, and in the following year Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs went to Rome, where they entered into conversation with some of the cardinals, and testified against the Popish superstitions. They also distributed books, explanatory of their principles, among the friars, some of whom confessed to the truth of their doctrine; but said that if they should acknowledge this publicly, they might expect to be burnt. Fisher and Stubbs, however, met with no interruption or molestation. In the course of their journey they underwent many difficulties, travelling on foot over the Alps, and in the countries through which they had to pass; but that Divine hand which led them forth, protected and delivered them; and brought them safely back to their native land.

After his return to England, Fisher was seldom out of prison for his religious conduct and principles. In the year 1661, he was arrested at a meeting in Westminster, and committed to the Gatehouse, where he was continued a prisoner for several months, in a small hole, without a chimney, during a cold season of the year. After his release from this imprisonment, he was apprehended as he was walking in the streets of London,

and with nine others was committed to Woodstreet Compter, where the accommodation was so small, that there was not room for all of them to lie down at once. Being taken before the magistrates at Guildhall, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to him, which of course refusing to take, he was committed to Newgate, where he continued sixteen weeks.

He could not have been long at liberty, before he was again made a prisoner; for I find that on the 21st of the 3d month, 1662, he was arrested in a private house, by a company of soldiers, who showed no cause for their violent conduct, nor any warrant but their swords. After being hurried from place to place, he was at last brought before Richard Brown, a man famous, or rather infamous, for his violent persecuting spirit. By him Fisher was committed to Bridewell. The next day his mittimus was changed, and the charge on which he was committed was for unlawfully assembling to worship. After an imprisonment of six weeks, he was brought up to the sessions at the Old Bailey, where, instead of a legal trial on the subject of his mittimus, the oath was again administered to him, contrary to law, in his situation as a prisoner. He desired the law to be read that required him to take the oath, which, though promised, was not done, but only the form of the oath was read to him. Even when this was done,

time was not afforded for him to give a reply, but the magistrates immediately ordered him to be taken way, a command which the officers executed with that violence which they knew would be acceptable to their superiors. On leaving the court, Samuel Fisher addressed it with these few emphatic words: "If such doings as these ever prosper, it must be when there is no God."

He was now committed to Newgate, where he continued a prisoner about twelve months, many of his friends being in confinement there at the same time. This dear Friend might indeed say with the apostle, "In every place, bonds and afflictions abide me." Before the expiration of the year 1663, a great part of which must have elapsed previous to his liberation from Newgate, he was again arrested and committed to prison. While attending a meeting at Charlewood in Surry, he was taken and committed to the White Lion Jail in Southwark. Here he continued a prisoner till the time of his death, which took place on the last day of the 6th month, 1665. Concerning his decease I find no particulars, except that Sewel says he "died piously."

Samuel Fisher not only laboured and suffered greatly, but also wrote much. His works are published in a folio volume containing nearly 1000 pages, of which his "Rusticus ad Academicos, or

the Rustick's Alarm to the Rabbies," consists of about 750. It is a reply to the aspersions of several men of eminence on the Principles of Friends. They are thus described in the title, "John Owen, D. D. late Dean of Christ's Church Coll. Oxon; Thomas Danson, M. A. once Fellow of Magd. Coll. Oxon, since one of the Seers for the Town of Sandwich in Kent; John Tombs, B. D. once of Bewdley, since of Lemster; Richard Baxter, Minister of Kederminster, another eminent Master in this English Israel." To analyse this work would almost require a volume. It is written in that controversial spirit which characterized the times, and though containing many strong arguments, and manifesting much learning, yet the language is frequently coarser than might have been expected from a man of his abilities and acquirements, and is by no means adapted to the taste of this refined age. The work, however, was very useful at the time of its publication; and William Penn in particular, acknowledges the benefit which he received from reading it.

Besides the above work, he wrote several pieces on the subject of Swearing, being answers to some Writers in Defence of the Practice in Courts of Law. His last publication on this subject was in answer to Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter. To this work he gives a Greek title as well as an English one. The latter being a translation of

the former: "The Bishop busied beside the Business." It is an able and learned reply to the Bishop's arguments, though rather prolix, containing nearly 100 pages of close printed folio.

It appears from various accounts, that Samuel Fisher was a man of a most amiable disposition and manners. Ellis Hookes, Luke Howard, and Wm. Penn, all speak very highly of his virtues. The latter says, "Though I greatly valued his abilities, employed so accurately in a good cause; yet above all I cannot but admire and love his great self-denial and humility, who from being a Teacher, became willing to be taught; and that most evenness and sweetness of temper his most intimate friends have often observed in him; so that he was not only a good scribe, but a good liver; a christian according to the Apostle James, composed of faith and works; therefore is his name of good savour with the righteous, because he counted nothing dear, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which came not by flesh and blood, but by the revelation of the Father of Lights." This testimony of Wm. Penn is abundantly confirmed by his intimate friends, Ellis Hookes and Luke Howard, who speak highly of his christian virtues and patient suffering for the testimony of Jesus.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE OF GEORGE FOX,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF REVIEW

OF THE

DOCTRINES and PRACTICES

INCULCATED BY HIM.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE of GEORGE FOX, &c.

ALTHOUGH the Biographical Notice which has been taken of George Fox, contains an occasional statement of the principles and practices which he propagated, it seems a proper, in the conclusion, to draw them into one point of view, and exhibit them in such a manner, that the reader may be capable of forming a judgment of their rectitude, and of the beneficial effects resulting from them.

The fundamental principle which he was most concerned to inculcate, was the universality of the Light, Grace, or Spirit of Christ, and its sufficiency to teach men all things necessary to salvation. Yet, while he bore testimony to this Divine principle, as the anointing, which the Apostle John told the primitive Christians, taught them of all things, he was far from denying the use of other means, which God has condescended to afford for the instruction of mankind; whether through the

Holy Scriptures, the Preaching of the Gospel, or any other outward instruction, consistent with the Christian dispensation.

The principal use, however, of all these means he considered to be, to bring the minds of those who partook of them, to an acquaintance with the inward teacher, the Light of Christ manifested in the heart; by an attention to which, the benefits of the sufferings of our blessed Redeemer come to be experienced, according to the testimony of one Apostle on behalf of himself and his fellow labourers in the Gospel; 1 John i. 5. 6. 7: "This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you; that God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with Him, and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth; but if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all Sin."

George Fox and our early friends might, and often did, adopt these words of the Apostle, as the peculiar message given to them. For, however they may have been charged to the contrary, they fully believed in the benefits to be derived from our Saviour's sufferings and death; both as a propitiation for the sins of mankind, and as the Mediator between God and man.

In occasionally giving a brief statement of the substance of his sermons, Christ is often mentioned by George Fox, in both these capacities. To the soundness of his Christian principles, his friend George Whitehead bears ample testimony, in his Preface to the volume of Epistles noticed in the Appendix. G. Whitehead's words are: "This our deceased friend, and servant of Jesus Christ, truly testified of Him in all respects, both as come in the flesh and in the spirit; both as Christ was and is our only Mediator and Advocate; and as He was and is, "God over all, blessed for ever." And his knowledge and ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, being after the Spirit, in life and power, did no ways imply any lessening of the dignity or glory of Christ, nor any defect of faith or love to Christ, as he came and suffered in the flesh for mankind; for he highly esteemed Christ's sufferings, death, resurrection and glory; and powerfully testified of the virtue, power, blessed and spiritual design, fruit, and effects thereof, as revealed and witnessed by his Holy Spirit."

It was from this Divine principle, or Holy Spirit, which may be considered as the leading feature of his doctrine, that he considered all true qualification for Gospel ministry was to be derived, and all ministers qualified rightly to comply with the Apostolic injunction: "If any man speak,

let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth." This spirit he considered so sufficient for the purpose of Gospel ministry, as to preclude the necessity for human learning, or any other acquirements, except the gifts and graces which the Holy Spirit confers. This spirit he also considered sufficient to qualify for the performance of divine worship; which may be performed either in silent adoration, or by public religious service, if any are rightly called or moved to it.

It must be admitted that these principles, if they were generally acted upon, would, in their result, tend to the subversion of those modes of worship and ministry, which depend on human ordination and appointment, for which establishments are often formed, and the expense of them is imposed not only on those who unite in them, but also on such as conscientiously dissent, either from the principles or practices taught in these established churches. It may therefore be reasonably supposed, that this part of George Fox's doctrines, subjected him and his friends to much persecution; but their long and patient suffering under it, produced at length the mitigation of divers laws in their favour; and perhaps it will not be too much to say, that this Society has been, more than any other, a means of procuring the extension of religious liberty, and of opening the eyes of many persons, to the benefits resulting from religious toleration. The belief that man is accountable to his Maker only for his religious opinions and practices, provided these do not infringe on any moral or civil obligation, early impressed the mind of this enlightened man; and it is a cause of consolation to believe, that it is a principle, which is now making a rapid progress in the Christian world.

As a free exercise of Gospel ministry on disinterested principles, by those who were "called of God," was earnestly promoted by George Fox, so all systems, not coinciding with these views, were the subjects of his animadversion. "Freely ye have received, freely give," might be considered as his motto. From this principle he was led to oppose the views of many of his contemporaries, who made a trade of preaching, and who, not unfrequently manifested by their conduct, that they regarded the fleece more than the flock. All established maintenance for ministers was disapproved by him, and he was particularly opposed to that arising from tithes, which he considered not only objectionable on the general principle he had adopted, of a free ministry, but also on account of its reverting to the old legal system, from which the Gospel of Christ had emancipated its true professors. The principles which have been

maintained by the friends of George Fox, have, it is presumed, thrown much light on this subject; and perhaps will eventually be a means, with other co-operating causes, of removing this political, as well as religious, evil of tithes, from the professors of Christianity, at least in this country.*

Being well taught in the school of Christ, Geo. Fox appears to have particularly imbibed the spirit of that evangelical song, with which our blessed Redeemer was introduced into the world: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, goodwill towards men." As in his successful Gospel labours, he uniformly ascribed the praise to his Divine master, so in his conduct towards others he remarkably exemplified the latter part of this sacred Anthem: "On earth peace, goodwill

* As the Author's health did not permit him to revise the 2d volume, including this "Supplement," the Editor conceives it will comport with the general instructions received from his valued relative, to supply the following paragraph.

The objection of George Fox to many of the religious forms and ceremonies in general use, was a prominent part of his system. His opinion appears to have been, that most of these forms were unsanctioned by Scripture; and that, by drawing men from the work of religion in the heart, they were calculated rather to oppose, than to promote, true piety. The use of Water Baptism, in particular, he thought tended to divert mankind from that "one baptism" which now saveth; "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God."

towards men," formed indeed a striking feature in the doctrines propagated by this excellent man. He carried this sentiment so far, as to disapprove of all "wars and fightings," conceiving them to proceed from the unmortified passions of men; and to have no political necessity, if these passions were subjected to the influence of the Cross of Christ, and regulated by the doctrines and precepts which he and his Apostles taught to their followers. The excellency of the testimony which George Fox and his friends have borne against war, is much more generally acknowledged than acted upon. But, on this subject, I believe, light is spreading; and that it will ultimately so far prevail, that "Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation, neither shall they learn war any more," is among the many consoling hopes, which the spirit of prophecy holds out to the believing christian.

Swearing, not only profane, but legal, was considered by George Fox as so expressly forbidden by our Saviour, that he and his friends, consonant with the words of the Apostle James, entirely declined the use of oaths. The sufferings which he underwent on this account are already related. His friends also largely partook of the same cup, and all from professors of the christian name, for obedience to a positive command of their common master. But in this respect the laws are now fa-

vourable to the Society of Friends, and they have reason to believe that many of their fellow christians of other Societies lament the frequency at least, of legal swearing.

While George Fox's capacious mind embraced the great and important principles already noticed, he was also attentive to some minor evils which existed in the christian world, and which he considered inconsistent with the christian character. Of these the complimentary and flattering titles given to men, the addressing individuals in the plural number, and bowing, or putting off the hat, struck him as inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel, and with the doctrines which our Saviour taught, when personally on earth. These practices he therefore laid aside; and the disuse of them by his friends, the plainness of their dress, and their not regulating it by the fashion of the day, continue to be marks of the members of this Society.

Although the principles of George Fox, both as to civil and religious rights, were very liberal, yet they were far from being such as led to anarchy and confusion; and therefore in the Society which he had been the principal means of forming, he early saw the necessity of establishing a christian discipline, by which its members were employed

in watching over and admonishing each other, when occasion required; and those whose conduct became reproachful, and could not be reclaimed, were disowned, or disunited, and the Society cleared of the discredit which might otherwise attach to it. However infallible was the principle of Divine Light and Grace which he preached, he well knew that those who professed a belief in it, were fallible men. He therefore wisely considered, for the purpose already mentioned, as well as for various others, relating to the internal œconomy of the society, that meetings for discipline were essentially necessary. These he was instrumental in establishing upon a plan that has now existed about 150 years; and experience has shown the wisdom in which they were made.

Among the peculiarities of George Fox's views, was the part which he assigned to the female sex, so far as related to themselves, in the discipline which he had established, and in asserting their call, by the great Head of the Church, to a part in the ministry. One obvious effect resulting from these regulations was, to raise the sex in usefulness and importance, and consequently to elevate their character, both in religious and civil society. This, it has been often observed, is one of the many beneficial effects of Christianity; but no Society of Christians has carried this so far as

that of Friends; and there is, perhaps, no society in which the sex is more virtuous, or more respectable, or more happy.

Besides the various matters already mentioned, this enlightened Reformer, (for so I hope I may now be permitted to style him,) testified against those public amusements and diversions which are much in use among professing Christians; but as there are many other religious people, who, in a great measure, concur with him *in these respects*, it may not be necessary to rank *these* among his peculiarities. His sentiments, however, and the practice of the society in reference to these things, may fairly be considered as exalting their moral character; and when all the principles and practices propagated by this true Follower of Christ, are fully taken into view, I believe it will be found that few, if any, have approached nearer to the standard of those Christian precepts inculcated by our blessed Redeemer, in his most excellent Sermon on the Mount, and that no principles are better calculated to promote the happiness of man in this world, or more adapted to prepare him for a state of happiness in that which is to come.

END of the SUPPLEMENT.

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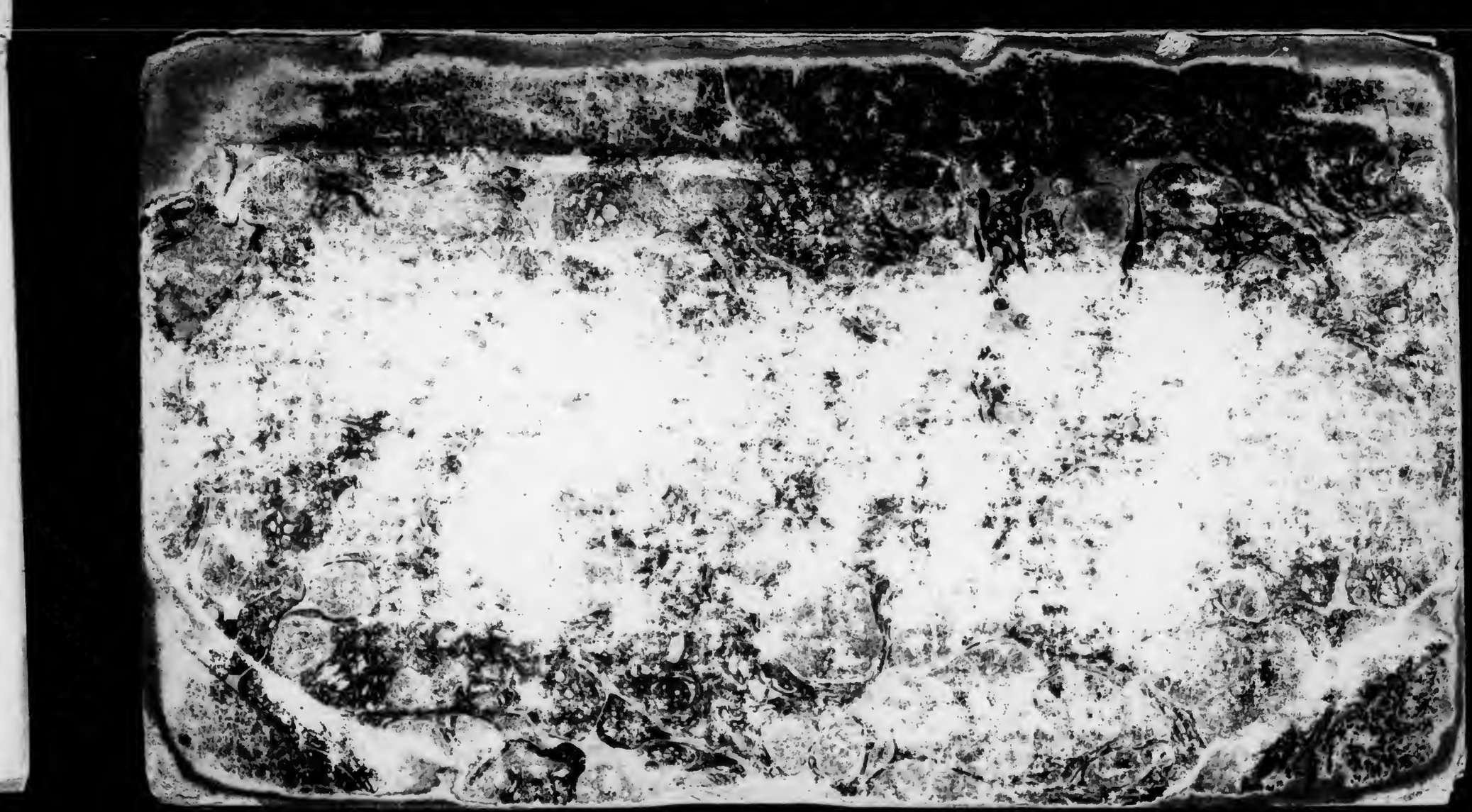

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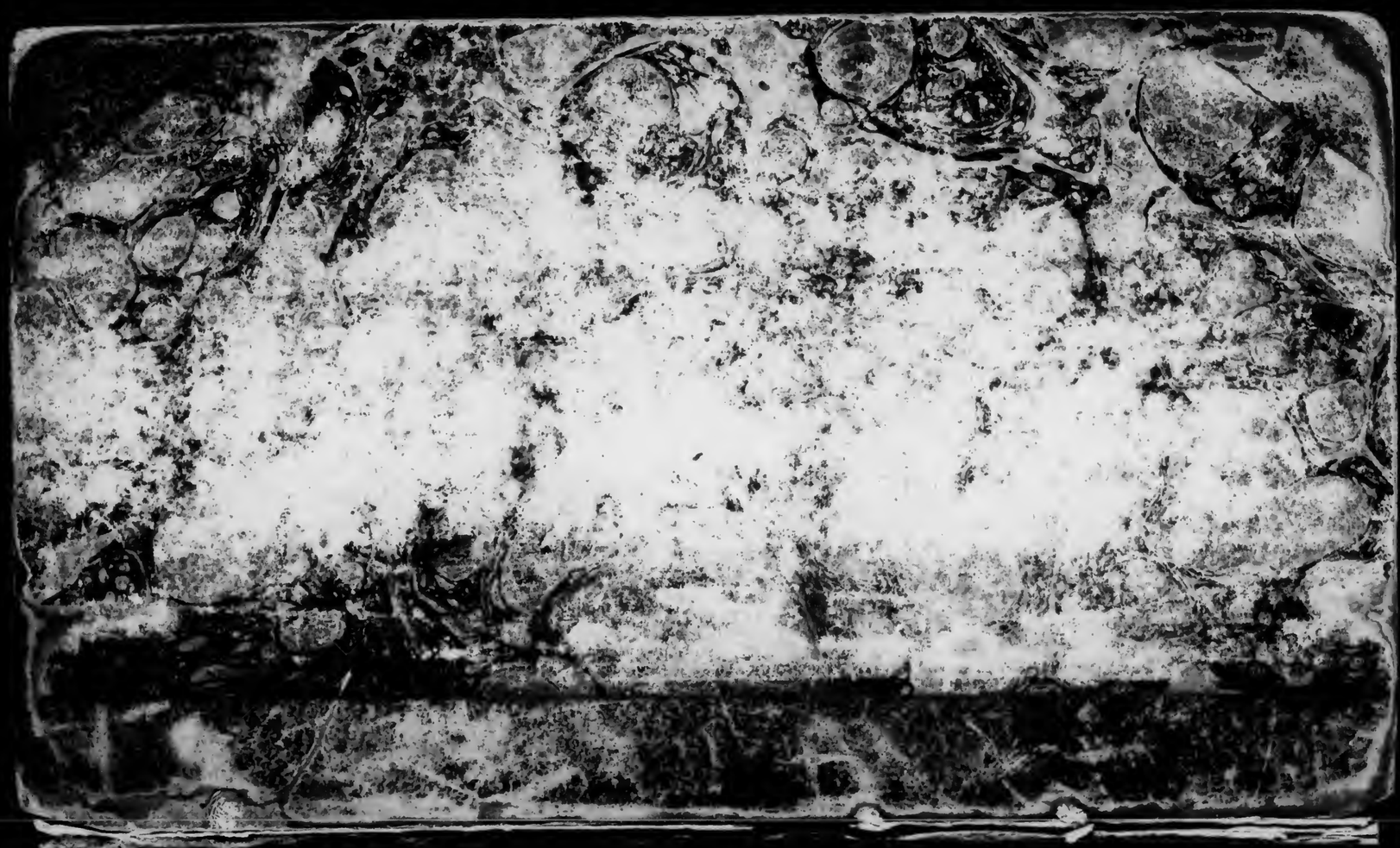

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THE

WORKS

OF

HENRY TUKE:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH *of the* AUTHOR,

By LINDLEY MURRAY.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

York:

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1815.

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THE

PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION,

AS PROFESSED BY THE

SOCIETY OF CHRISTIANS,

USUALLY CALLED

QUAKERS,

Written for the Instruction of their YOUTH, and for the Information of STRANGERS.

By HENRY TUKE.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

York:
PRINTED BY C. PEACOCK,
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1812.

INTRODUCTION.

CONSIDERING the many publications which already exist, explanatory of the principles of our religious society, it may seem, to some persons, superfluous, to publish any thing further on this subject. I have, notwithstanding, been long apprehensive that a work is still wanting, which shall include the whole, or the most material part of our principles; and, in a concise, yet perspicuous manner, convey a sufficient explanation and defence of them. The ample and excellent Apology of Robert Barclay, is too diffuse for the generality of young readers; and it requires a more close and patient attention than many are willing to bestow. It would, however, in my apprehension, amply repay that attention: and I am so far from being desirous to lessen its use, that I wish particularly to recommend it to those of our society, who desire (what all should desire) thoroughly to understand their own religious principles. If the language is not modern, it is still correct and clear; if the work is thought too controversial, we should recollect, that the controversy is on subjects, the right understanding of which, is intimately connected with our existence as a religious society. The light and

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miscellaneous reading of the present day, it is to be feared, disinclines many amongst us, as well as others, from subjects, which require close attention and serious consideration; and I wish it may not also be a means of weakening the attachment of many to those religious truths, in which our highest duty and our deepest interest consist.

In this work, I have been desirous of inculcating the general principles of religion, and of Christianity, as well as those which are peculiar to our society; believing, that we can no longer exist, with any degree of consistency, than whilst those principles are maintained, which constitute the basis of the Christian Religion. These I consider to be, faith in God, and a belief of the immortality of the soul; a humbling sense of the depravity of human nature, and of the necessity and benefits of a Redeemer; that this Redeemer is Christ Jesus our Lord; that what the Evangelists and Apostles have written concerning him, is true, both in relation to his humanity and his Divinity, as are likewise their accounts of his many mighty works and miracles; his having, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself unto God for us, as a propitiation for our sins; and sent the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; and to guide into all truth.

In treating of the Holy Scriptures, I have particularly endeavoured to obviate the principal objections made against them; since it is by attempting to invalidate their authenticity and divine authority, that the enemies of the Christian religion attack our faith. I have introduced the subject of the Scriptures, previously to the chapter on the Christian religion; considering, that if the authenticity and veracity, to say nothing of the divine authority, of these writings be established, it is then necessary only to show, what Christianity is, according to the Scriptures: a few arguments are, however, added, in support of the Christian religion.

With respect to those principles, which are peculiar to our religious society, I hope that, however singular they may appear to some, they will, on close examination, be found consistent with the nature and spirit of the gospel dispensation. The conviction of this consistency has been increased on my mind, by the investigation which the writing of this work has occasioned; and, I trust, we are able to give such reasons for our dissent from other Christians, as may at least excuse it to those from whom we differ.

Although very little is quoted in this work from any books, but those of the Holy Scriptures, it may be proper

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to say, that I am indebted to the writings of others, for many of the arguments which I have advanced. At a time when so much has been written, and well written, on these subjects, it is not to be expected that many fresh arguments can be brought forward. Some new matter will, nevertheless, be found. The principal object aimed at in this work is, to digest what has been produced by reading and reflection, and to deliver it in such a manner, as may briefly, yet clearly, convey the sentiments designed to be inculcated. How far this object has been attained, is not for me to determine.

I wish not, by any thing which I have written, to promote a spirit of controversy. On the contrary, I desire the increase of that mutual charity, which it is alike our duty and our interest to cherish. To speak what we apprehend to be truth, is, however, sometimes necessary; and always so, if we speak at all. If we do this, as we ought to do, in love, and what we say is received in the same spirit, we may be the means of stirring up the pure mind in each other; and of promoting our "growing up in Him, in all things, who is the Head, even Christ."*

* Ephesians iv. 15.

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CHAPTER I.

ON RELIGION IN GENERAL.

Universal Importance of Religion.—The Belief of God its first Principle.—The next, that of the Immortality of the Soul.—Universality of these Principles. Arguments for them.—Faith their best support.

RELIGION is a subject which involves so much, both of the duty and interest of mankind, that there is no situation in life, which can exempt from the considerations and obligations it imposes on all men; or render superfluous those sources of enjoyment and consolation, which it affords to its true and humble possessors.

The first principle of religion is, the belief of a Supreme Being, distinguished by the name of GOD: a being, who is the original Creator of all things; who hath all power in his hands; who is perfect in wisdom and knowledge; who is just and equal in all his ways; and whose

tender mercies are over all his works. He knoweth our most secret actions, words, and thoughts; for there is nothing hid from Him, with whom we have to do.

The next principle of religion, is the belief of the immortality of the soul, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, in which the great distinction will be made between the righteous and the wicked; those inequalities which appear in this probationary state will be removed; and a recompence given to every man according to his works.

Although these principles of religion are not attended with that kind of evidence, which the objects of our external senses generally afford; yet it is not a little remarkable, that there are scarcely any other subjects, which have obtained so general belief and persuasion amongst mankind, though often mixed with many gross ideas. They are principles so interwoven with our natures, that it seems to indicate an extraordinary debasement, or perversion of mind, not to entertain truths so universally felt and acknowledged. They are, however, principles which may be supported by arguments, drawn

from the nature of things; and, notwithstanding the general consent to them, it may be proper to bring forward a few of these arguments.

The existence of a Supreme Being, the Creator of heaven and earth, is evident from the works of creation. The magnificence of some of these works; the regularity and order with which they move in their appointed stations; the beauty and use attendant upon others, with the important purposes which are accomplished by them, particularly to the animal creation; evince so clearly both design and power, as to afford an insuperable argument in favour of a Great First Cause, perfect in wisdom and goodness, as well as unlimited in power. To these considerations may be added, the wonderful arrangement of the animal economy. The different parts, adapted to their different purposes with peculiar exactness and advantage, might well induce the pious Psalmist to address his Maker in this emphatic language: "I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; marvellous are thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well."* Thus also a consideration of the other works of creation, in-

* Psalm cxxxix. 14.

duced the same Psalmist to celebrate his Maker's praise: "The Heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handy work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.*" And again: "O Lord! how manifold are thy works; in wisdom hast thou made them all."†

Nor are we without arguments for our immortality, and a future state of retribution, the belief of which is, as it were, the soul of religion: for when we have entertained suitable ideas of a Supreme Being; when we feel those aspirations unto him, and those desires to unite with him, which frequently arise in our hearts; and particularly when we look at the state of the righteous and the wicked in this world; we have sufficient reason to conclude, that there is a part in man which is immortal: and that there must be a future state, in which virtue and vice will

* Psalm xix. 1, 2, 3.

† Psalm civ. 24. If any person should think it irregular, to bring forward passages from the scriptures, before their authority has been proved; it may be observed, that these passages are not advanced as arguments, but as elucidations in the same manner as any other writing might be quoted.

meet with their respective rewards, in a more signal manner than they appear to receive them in this life, thus showing that God is just and equal in all his ways, and righteous in all his thoughts.

But, notwithstanding these and other arguments, which might be adduced in support of those two first principles of religion, the soul seems most fully to rest upon and enjoy them, when they are felt as objects of faith, rather than of reason. They then become like self-evident truths, for which our own feelings are the best support, and which act in concert with that declaration: "Without faith it is impossible to please God; for he that cometh to him must believe that He is; and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."* And we ought ever to remember, after all our reasonings on these subjects, that "Life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel."†

* Heb. xi. 6. † 2 Tim. i. 10.

CHAP. II.

ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Nature and Design of the Scriptures.—Their claim to our regard and to the belief of their being divinely inspired.—Objections answered—first to their Genuineness and Truth—next to their Inspiration.—All related of good men not intended for imitation.—Impartiality of the Scriptures.—Great judgment necessary in applying them.—Possibility of placing too much dependance on them.—On calling them the Word of God.

THESE writings are divided into two parts, the Old and the New Testaments. They commence with an account of the creation of the world, and contain a history of more than four thousand years. Their object appears to be, to exhibit the various dispensations of God to mankind; to manifest many of his general and particular acts of Providence; to show the good effects of religion and virtue; and to set forth the lamentable evils which are the consequence of walking in the paths of irreligion and profaneness. For the prevention of these evils,

the scriptures inculcate those principles of piety and morality, which contribute to the happiness of mankind, both here and hereafter; and there is not any general duty, religious or moral, in which they do not afford instruction and direction.

The scriptures also contain many remarkable predictions concerning nations and individuals, with several prophecies of the coming of the Messiah, and of the dispensation of the gospel. Ancient history, both sacred and profane, gives account of circumstances which show the fulfilling of many of these predictions; and the New Testament particularly relates the completion of those, which are given concerning "Him, of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write."*

When we consider who were the writers of these volumes; what are the subjects, and what appear to be the objects of them; they claim, at first view, a high degree of regard and esteem. But when, as Christians, we believe in a divine influence and direction, we find abundant cause to conclude, that this influence was extended

* John i. 45.

to those who wrote or compiled the scriptures, and therefore believe with the apostle Paul, that they were "given by inspiration of God;"* and are productive of those important advantages which he attaches to them.

But notwithstanding the strong belief which is generally entertained of the truth of these writings, and of their having been communicated under the influence of divine inspiration; there are persons, who do not acknowledge one or both of these claims to that credibility and reverence, which are attached to the scriptures. It will therefore be necessary to pay some attention to the objections advanced by these persons; in doing which, it may be proper, first to consider those which are made against the authenticity of the scriptures.

These objections may be divided into two classes.

1. To the writings, as the genuine productions of the authors to whom they are ascribed.

2. To the works themselves, as being a true history.

* Tim. iii. 16.

With respect to the objection against their being genuine, in relation to their imputed authors, if it could in some cases be well supported, it would by no means invalidate either the truth or the inspiration of these writings; because the books do not always declare their authors. They have, however, been transmitted through so regular a channel of evidence, by a people for whom they were especially written, and by whom they were religiously preserved, as to render it as indubitable as any thing of the kind can be, that they were written by those to whom they are ascribed. In some cases the authors may be considered as dubious; and seeing that, in these instances, the books are not imputed in scripture to any individual, no objection can reasonably be made on this ground.

An objection is sometimes made to the supposed author, on account of his speaking of himself in the third person; but this cannot have much weight, when it is considered that it is a mode of writing not peculiar to the scriptures, but has been adopted by various historians, whose works have been generally admitted without disputation.

Another more plausible reason for disputing the authors, arises from some places being mentioned by names, which appear to have been given to them subsequent to the alleged writer's existence; or from saying, that a place is called by a particular name " to this day," with other similar expressions. Now all this is easily obviated by considering, what is generally admitted, that, after the Babylonian captivity, Ezra revised the Jewish scriptures; and it appears, that, in some instances, he either made use of modern names, or added remarks of his own to elucidate the history. He was a religious character, and one whom the Jews considered as acting under divine direction; they therefore received his comments, and added them, if he did not do it himself, to the original text. This is a fact which the Jews acknowledge, and which accounts for the causes of this objection in such a manner, as must, I apprehend, be satisfactory to every impartial mind.

The account of the death of Moses, at the end of Deuteronomy, was probably added by Joshua or Samuel, to complete the history of Moses in those books that were written by him; and is a circumstance, which no reasonable

man, who is acquainted with literary publications, would make a ground of objection to the authenticity of any book.

Nor are the objections to the truth of the matters related in the holy scriptures, of more weight than those alleged against their authenticity. They arise from some apparent inconsistencies of one part with another, and from a supposed difference in some instances, from other histories.

In most cases, the inconsistencies objected are only in appearance; they may be, and indeed have been, removed by a critical examination of the subjects; and if we admit a few to arise from incorrectness in transcribers or translators, surely no wise man would consider such a circumstance as a reasonable ground, for rejecting even writings much less authenticated than these. As to the few variations from other writers, if they cannot otherwise be reconciled, a fair consideration of the probability, which of them had the best means of information, will, I believe, give a clear preference to the sacred historian. But the scriptures are in general found to be well supported by other

authors; and, what is worthy of observation, the completion of prophecies recorded in various parts of holy writ, is confirmed by profane historians of good credit, who, it must be admitted, could have no inducement to give any unfair testimony in their favour.*

That some verbal difficulties should occur in a collection of books, which were written from more than one thousand seven hundred, to upwards of three thousand years ago, and which contain a history of above four thousand years, is what may reasonably be expected; but that writings of such antiquity should come down to us so perfect as they appear to be, is cause of admiration; and, considering their interesting importance, of gratitude and praise.

Having, I hope, sufficiently obviated the most plausible objectious, that are made against the truth and credibility of the scriptures, the next circumstance to be considered is their inspiration; by which I understand, that the writers or compilers were influenced by the Holy Spirit

* For the truth of these assertions, see Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion, 3 Sect. 14 and 16. Newton on the Prophecies, and Prettyman on the Study of the Bible.

in communicating these writings. A considerable part of them are given as express communications from the Almighty to his servants and prophets: this, if we admit the truth of the relation, determines a large proportion of the bible to be an immediate revelation, which is more, as to the degree, than is necessarily implied by the term inspiration.

The reasons for considering these writings, as being given under that divine influence which is called inspiration, are the following:

1.—The characters of the writers, all of whom, that we can ascertain, were men, eminently endowed with divine gifts; and who appear to have drawn up these writings for the use and edification of the church of God; in doing which we may reasonably conclude, that his assistance would be sought for and afforded.

2.—The character of Ezra, who, besides being the writer of at least one book, collected the various writings of the Old Testament, with the exception of two or three books not then written.* His character, gifts, and motives, all

* These are Nehemiah and Malachi, and perhaps Esther, with part of Chronicles. They are generally supposed to have been added by Simon the Just.

lead us to the same conclusion as before; with this addition, that as the occasion, or the authors of some part of these writings, are not clearly ascertained, Ezra's compilation under divine influence, gives an additional sanction to these books.

3.—The testimony of the apostle Paul, who says, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and * is profitable for doctrine," &c.

* I am aware, that some persons endeavour to set aside the force of this passage, by stating that one Greek manuscript omits the καὶ, in English *and*, and that some ancient Versions have no word equivalent to it; by which they would give a different meaning to the passage. In answer to this, it may be observed,

1.—That for one Greek manuscript which wants the καὶ or *and*, there are great numbers which have it; and that one is neither so ancient, nor of so good credit as most of the others, in the opinion of many critics. Now, to set all other manuscripts aside, and prefer a single and less authenticated reading, with two or three translations, which, though they may be ancient, can by no means be considered of equal validity with so many copies in the original tongue, would be an exercise of criticism, which nothing but a partial predilection to a preconceived opinion would adopt. Would these critics admit such arguments in favour of the authenticity of 1 John v. 7?

2.—The context requires a sense, which implies that the apostle considered that all which he had just called the holy scriptures were inspired. Ancient commentators, even

When we consider the opportunities and abilities of the apostle, for judging in such a case (to say nothing of his own inspiration) his testi-

those who have made use of the versions which have not the *and*, still consider the passage as implying, that the whole scripture was divinely inspired. So that supposing (what however is not admitted) that the καὶ was not in the original, the sense is still the same. For the more clear elucidation of the subject, let us read the whole passage, as these objectors would render it. "From a Child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture (or every writing) given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Now every one that reads this passage impartially, and considers the construction of the sentences correctly, must, I apprehend, admit, that the holy scriptures, mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph, are included in the general observations respecting "all scripture given by inspiration," or that "all scripture given by inspiration," only alluded to "the holy scriptures" mentioned just before. In either case the inference is clear, that the scriptures of the Old Testament, which are all that were then called the holy scriptures, were considered by the apostle as divinely inspired; and as answering to the character he gives in the 16th verse. It may be further observed, that, without the καὶ, the passage may be translated thus: "all (or the whole) scripture being divinely inspired, is profitable," &c. Even the Latin Vulgate, which is one of the Versions brought forward as favouring the omission of the

mony appears to be an insurmountable argument in favour of those writings, concerning which he made this declaration.

and, will bear this rendering: "Omnis scriptura, divinitus inspirata, utilis est," &c.

3.—The sense is, however, more clear and unequivocal, by the well supported reading of the word *και* or *and*, as given in our translation. This sense contains the reason why the holy scriptures were able to make Timothy wise unto salvation; but supposing the meaning simply to be, that all scripture which is divinely inspired, is profitable, &c. without any connection with the preceding verse, the position would become an unconnected truism; as no doubt could be entertained, that all scripture which was divinely inspired, was thus profitable. Besides, this meaning would leave Timothy, and every other reader, in uncertainty, which part of the scriptnre was, and which was not inspired: it offers no rule to distinguish them. But had this been the apostle's meaning, there was a fair occasion, and indeed a call upon him, to offer some means of distinction.

From all these considerations, I am induced to believe, that the construction given by our translators, is supportable, not only by nearly all the Greek manuscripts, but by the just rules of criticism; and by every other reasonable consideration of which the subject is capable. See this matter farther discussed by Findlay, on the Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures, in answer to Dr. Geddes.

For the sake of some of my readers, it may be proper to take notice of an objection, which has been made from Robert Barclay having, in his apology, quoted the passage without the *and*: "All scripture given by inspiration of

4.—Although the latter arguments are applicable only to the Old Testament; yet the first relates to both; and it is presumed, that none but Jews, who acknowledge the inspiration of the Old Testament, will deny it to the New. The exception which the apostle Paul makes in an instance or two, to his writing by commandment, is a proof of *his* writings at least being divinely inspired.

After giving these reasons, I shall proceed to consider the principal objections to this inspiration, which I apprehend to be,

God is profitable," &c. In answer to this, it may be observed, that Robert Barclay originally wrote and published his apology in Latin, and I believe generally quoted the texts of scripture from the Latin Vulgate, of which this is a translation. Even supposing him to have preferred this rendering, yet, if we may judge from what he has written on the scriptures, there is no reason to believe, he doubted the inspiration of any part of them. He begins his Thesis on the Scriptures thus: "From these revelations of the spirit of God to the saints, have proceeded the Scriptures of truth;" and this he applies to the historical, as well as the prophetical, doctrinal, and exhortatory parts of the Old and New Testaments.

It is hoped that the importance of the subject of this note, will excuse its length. To have incorporated it in the body of the work, would not have been so suitable for many readers.

1.—That some of the matters related, are of too trivial a nature, to be the subjects of divine inspiration.

2.—That some others appear so inconsistent with the nature of the Divine Being, as to render it altogether improbable, that he ever warranted what is there expressed.

With respect to the first objection, I believe we are by no means competent judges. The Old Testament, to which this objection may be principally made, was not primarily written for us of the present day; but for a people, who had many peculiar customs and ceremonies, and to whom many things might be important, that to us may appear of a trifling nature. Nor is it improbable, that much of what these objectors consider as trifling, may to others of their contemporaries, be both important and instructive. The pious and humble mind will often derive instruction from many of the works of Divine Providence, which may be overlooked by the vain and fastidious, as not worthy of their notice.

The second objection, it is apprehended, is meant principally to apply to those passages in

the Old Testament, where the Almighty is represented as authorising the destruction of man by man. This is an objection not only to the inspiration, but to the truth of the scriptures; and though it appears to be the strong hold of the enemies of the bible, it is by no means impregnable. It has, indeed, been often attacked and reduced; but such is their fondness for it, that they are continually rebuilding and resorting to it.

In replying to this objection, it may be proper, first, to consider the command of God to Abraham, to offer up his son Isaac, which has been much insisted on, as favouring human sacrifices, and as an argument against the scriptures. It stands recorded as a trial of Abraham's faith; and as, after his full resignation, his hand was stayed from the performance of the act; I am at a loss to conceive what inference can be drawn from this circumstance, derogatory to the character of the Divine Being, or of those writings which represent him as putting the righteous patriarch's love and obedience to this great trial. Had the sacrifice been actually made, the objection to it might have had more appearance of validity; but as the case is represented, and no doubt rightly

represented, it appears to afford an argument against, rather than for, human sacrifices. The conduct of Abraham is mentioned, both in the Old and the New Testament, with the most marked approbation; and it has obtained for the obedient patriarch the distinguished character of "the friend of God."*

The command given to the Israelites, to make war on the Canaanites, and to destroy them, is an objection, which, it is difficult to conceive, can be seriously urged by those who consider war to be lawful, even under the Christian dispensation. War is generally allowed to be one of those judgments, by which Divine Providence hath often afflicted a guilty nation; and, in the instances on which the objection is founded, this appears to have been remarkably the case. They were indeed judgments which had been mercifully protracted. Thus we read, that the possession of the promised land by Abraham, or his posterity, was deferred for several generations, because "the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full;"† although there is reason to believe from this expression, as well as from other circumstances, that their sins were then very great. This is farther elucidated by the

* James ii. 23. † Gen. xv. 16.

command given to the Israelites, to abstain from many evil practices, (some of them of the grossest kind) of which the nations whom they were to expel, were guilty. These Moses plainly mentions as the cause of their expulsion; warning the Israelites at the same time against similar conduct, which would produce similar judgments. "Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things; for in all these things the nations are defiled, which I cast out before you. And the land is defiled; therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it; and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations; that the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you."*

This subject is also placed in a clear and forcible point of view by the remonstrance of Moses, as related in the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy; where, after cautioning the people against any presumptuous conceits of their own merits, he expressly says to them: "Not for thy righteousness, or for the uprightness of thy

* Lev. xviii. 24.

heart, dost thou go to possess the land; but for the wickedness of these nations, doth the Lord thy God drive them out before thee."*

The case of Agag has also been brought forward to support the objection, which we have now under consideration; but in this instance we have again a cause assigned for the judgment executed: "As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women."† From this expression there is reason to suppose, that Agag had been remarkable for his violence and cruelty, which brought this judgment justly upon him.

It has been alleged, that these pretensions to Divine commands were only a cloak for ambition and cruelty. But this cannot reasonably be supposed to be the case, when it is considered that these judgments were not confined to the heathen nations; but that similar ones were also threatened and executed upon the Israelites themselves. Although they were a people distinguished by many peculiar favours; yet, when they departed from the law and commandment of their God, and degenerated into idolatry and

* Deut. ix. 5. † 1 Sam. xvi. 33.

wickedness, they became the subjects of divine retribution. Thus the prophet Isaiah expostulates with them: "Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robber? Did not the Lord, he against whom we have sinned? For they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient to his law; therefore he hath poured upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle."* Even Moses, their leader in these supposed schemes of ambition, denounced, in the most ample manner, the judgments, which would be the consequence of their disobedience to the law of their God.—See Lev. xxvi. 14, &c. Deut. xxviii. 15, &c.

When we consider the peculiar humility and disinterestedness of Moses, in refusing to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; in the great reluctance with which he accepted the government of the Israelites; in preferring their forgiveness and preservation to his own aggrandisement, or that of his family; and in the singular liberality which he manifested when Eldad and Medad were complained of, for prophesying in the camp; when these circumstances are considered, there seems no ground whatever to

* Isaiah xlii. 24.

suspect Moses of either ambition or cruelty: we perceive, on the contrary, the propriety of the distinguished character given of him, most probably by some pious transcriber of the Pentateuch: "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which lived on the face of the earth."*

In considering the various circumstances connected with this subject, there appears to be abundant cause to acknowledge that the Lord's ways are equal, and that those judgments upon the Canaanites were not the exercise of a capricious severity; but administered under circumstances, which perfectly reconcile them to those principles of justice and mercy, which we consider among the most distinguished attributes of the Deity. And though, in many instances, the innocent may seem to suffer equally with the guilty, yet this is no more than is generally the case in other public calamities. Even in those most remarkable ones, the universal deluge, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, many innocent children must have suffered with their guilty parents. In considering these cases, we should remember,

* Numbers xii. 3.

that whatever public afflictions may be directed for the punishment of nations, it is in a future life that the grand distinction is made between individuals; when "God will render to every man according to his deeds."*

If some of those, who, with myself, consider war altogether inconsistent with the Christian dispensation, should argue from the unchangeableness of the Divine nature, that the Almighty could not allow of, or enjoin practices, in one age, which are inconsistent in another; it may and ought to be observed, that, in his dispensations to mankind, great variety is evident; and many things which were not only allowed, but commanded, in former times, and under different circumstances, would now be improper.

It also appears, that when our blessed Lord set forth the peaceablenes of the gospel dispensation, he showed that a contrary conduct had been more than permitted in former times; and unless we intend to controvert the propriety of the manner, in which the Author of the Christian religion propagated it, we must allow, that there have been times, in which divers things

* Rom. ii. 6.

were lawful that are now unlawful; and thus we may reconcile the consistency of the Jewish wars with the divine will. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, resist not evil." Again, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy;* but I say unto you, love your enemies," &c." Now, when we consider the expressions just cited, and observe the obvious difference they make between the dispensations of the law and of the gospel; we may find abundant reason to believe, that it was not inconsistent with the Divine nature and will, to command those things which are related respecting the wars of the Jews.

If any credibility is due to the writings of Moses, and they have all the claim to credibility which writings of that antiquity well can have; it is evident that those wars were commanded by the Almighty. And when we consider, that we have no less support for the authority of Moses than our Lord himself; that he and his

* The words "hate thine enemy," do not appear in the Old Testament; perhaps they were added by the scribes as a gloss; however, our Lord, by his recital, acknowledges them as not inconsistent with the former dispensation.

apostles mention him with evident tokens of their considering him divinely directed; we must, in denying the authority of Moses, also deny that of Christ and his apostles. A consequence, from the idea of which every Christian must revolt.

Let us, therefore, be content with that evidence of the divine will which is afforded us; and rather than impugn the former dispensations of God to mankind, be thankful to him for having introduced one so much more excellent, in which "Glory to God in the highest," is peculiarly united with "Peace on earth, and good will to men."

But whilst I have been endeavouring to remove these objections, I have regretted that there should be any necessity thus to "justify the ways of God to men," as recorded in holy writ, and to endeavour to support the cause of that Omnipotent Being, whose prerogative alone it is, "that he giveth no account of any of his matters." He has, notwithstanding, as far as different circumstances will permit, condescended to adapt his dispensations towards mankind, to those principles of wisdom, justice,

and mercy, which are the rules of our conduct towards each other. If, in some instances, we cannot perceive this consistency, the infinite disparity between the Divine Being and his creature man, might reasonably induce us to expect difficulties of this kind; and surely the wisdom, no more than the faith, of those is to be admired, who reject every thing respecting an Infinite Being, that does not comport with their finite capacities. "Canst thou, by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? Deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. If he cut off, and shut up, and gather together, then who can hinder him?"*

But in admitting the holy scriptures, to have been communicated to us under Divine influence or inspiration, it is not necessary to consider all that is related in them, concerning even those whose general conduct might entitle them to the character of good men, as intended for our imitation. In many instances, indeed, their conduct is very properly and impartially

* Job xi. 7.

censured; and this impartiality constitutes one of the many excellencies of the bible. But there are also circumstances simply related, without any comment, which it is by no means requisite to consider as related with approbation, or authorising a similar conduct in us. A close and critical examination of some of these cases, would probably remove much of the impression which a slighter consideration may have sometimes produced. At any rate, neither the sacred historian, nor that inspiration under which he is supposed to write, is chargeable with such circumstances.—Here, however, we have again occasion for the exercise of our gratitude, in that it has pleased Divine Providence to give us an existence under a dispensation, which requires singular degrees of purity and uprightness of conduct; and which exceeds all former ones in the excellence of its morality, as well as in the peculiar peaceableness of its principles, and the spirituality of its worship.

Great judgment is also necessary in applying the scriptures to the support of religious doctrines and observances. These have been, I apprehend, sometimes adopted from what may be rather incidentally mentioned, than inculcated.

In considering the scriptures, and endeavouring to build systems upon them, it requires great care to distinguish those things which are universal and essential, from such as are only of a temporary or local nature. For want of an attention of this kind, many unprofitable disputes, (to say no worse of them) have arisen among the professors of Christianity; and much unnecessary stress has been laid on things which the Christian religion does not enjoin or require.

Highly however as those writings are to be valued, and highly indeed we do esteem them, there is not only a possibility, but a danger of placing too much dependence upon them, by preferring them to that Divine Spirit from which they proceed, to which they direct our attention, and by which only they can be rightly opened to our understandings. Thus the Jews in the days of our blessed Saviour's personal appearance on earth, paid great attention to the scriptures; and at the same time did not believe in Him, "of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write." On this account our Lord reproves them in this manner: "Search (or, ye search) the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify

of me; and ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life." Now, that from which the scriptures proceeded, and to which they amply bear witness as the means of salvation, is what we apprehend there is a danger of neglecting; and thereby of dwelling upon the letter, without a proper regard to the Spirit; a danger against which the scriptures themselves contain many salutary cautions.

There is also a name by which the holy scriptures are frequently distinguished, which appears to be, in divers respects, exceptionable, namely, "The Word of God." This is an appellation which is otherwise applied in those writings; and it tends to create a confusion of ideas, unnecessarily to denominate several subjects by the same name. Christ is called, "The Word of God."* The term † is also applied to that holy principle or spirit, by which he carries on the work of salvation in the hearts of true Christians; and frequently to the preaching of the gospel; but by applying it to the sacred writings, a misapplication of passages in them is frequently occasioned. That these writings contain the words of God, we readily ad-

* John i. 1, &c. Rev. xix. 13.

† Heb. iv. 12; 1 Pet. i. 23; 1 John ii. 14.

mit; but we think it safest, as well as most proper, to designate them by that appellation, by which the apostle Paul has distinguished them; and by way of priority to all other writings, to style them, The Holy Scriptures. Concerning these writings we believe with this apostle, that they were "given by inspiration of God; and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."*

* 2 Tim. iii. 16.

CHAP. III.

ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

The Fall of Man and the Promise of a Redeemer.—Different modes of divine communication to Man.—Prospects and prophecies of the Gospel Day.—Christ comes among the Jews.—The benefits of his coming designed to be universal.—Objects of his coming recapitulated.—Christian redemption a work of love.—Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit.—On the Trinity — Justification — Resurrection — Arguments and Evidences of Christianity.—The true and perfect Christian.

HAVING vindicated the truth and divine authority of the Scriptures, we next proceed to consider the most important doctrines of the Christian religion.

Man having, by disobedience to the divine command, lost that state of innocence and purity in which he was originally created; and having thereby subjected himself and his offspring to sin and misery; it pleased his gracious and merciful Creator, in the riches of his love, early to point out, and to promise a Redeemer. This was done at the very time when sentence was

pronounced on our first parents for their transgression; for then their tempter and seducer received this judgment: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman; and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel."*

But notwithstanding the promise was thus early made, many ages elapsed before it pleased God completely to fulfil it: during which time, however, he did not leave mankind wholly to themselves; but, by the ministration of angels, by that holy Spirit which was more plentifully to be poured forth in the Christian dispensation, and by other means, he communicated his will to the children of men; striving with and reproving the ungodly because of their iniquities, as well as exhorting and comforting the righteous under those trials, unto which this probationary state, and in some instances, the love and the fear of their God, rendered them liable. Typical offerings and sacrifices for sin were also established, in allusion to that one offering, by which "he hath now perfected for ever them that are sanctified."†

Among other sources of consolation, was the prospect, which was at times given to the patri-

* Gen. iii. 15. † Heb. x. 14.

archs and prophets, of the day of Christ, and of the excellence of his dispensation; concerning which we have many predictions left upon record, abundantly setting forth those advantages which were designed to mankind by him, whom we have represented to us as the Sent of the Father. By these prophecies, as well as by the types of the Mosaic law, the minds of many were gradually prepared for the reception of the promised Messiah; and many there appear to have been, who, with Simeon and Anna, "waited for the consolation of Israel, and looked for redemption in Jerusalem,"* by the coming of him, who was peculiarly prophesied of as "a light to lighten the gentiles," as well as for "the glory of his people Israel."

Thus, "when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law,"† from those ceremonious observances, which were designed to be as a "schoolmaster to bring them to Christ."‡ Yet the great object of Christ's coming was by no means confined to the Jewish people; amongst

* Luke ii. 25, 38.
† Isaiah xlii. 6. Luke ii. 32. Gal. iv. 4.
‡ Gal. iii. 24.

whom, and by whom, he suffered that ignominious death, by which it hath pleased God (and surely it ought to suffice us, that it has thus pleased him) "to reconcile all things to himself."*

The evangelical prophet, above seven hundred years before our Saviour's personal appearance on earth, speaking in the name of the Almighty, declares, "It is a light thing, that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."† Consonant with this gracious prediction, are these declarations of the apostle John, "In him was life; and the life was the light of men." "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."‡ "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."§ Many are the prophecies concerning the universal extent of the benefits of Christ's coming, the accomplishment of which is fully borne witness to by the writers of the New Testament. This is particularly

* Col. i. 20. † Isaiah xlix. 6. ‡ John i. 4, 9.
§ 1 John ii. 2.

and frequently done by Paul, who, being in an especial manner the apostle of the Gentiles, has abundantly set forth, "that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus by the Gospel."* Thus was broken down that partition wall, which formerly existed between Jews and Gentiles; all were united in one common cause; and all had an equal interest in him, with whom "there is neither Greek nor Jew; circumcision nor uncircumcision; barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; male nor female; but Christ is all, and in all; and all are one in Christ."†

From what has already been expressed, it appears evident, that the love of God, in sending his Son into the world, was not limited to any part of it; but that the benefits were designed to extend as far as the effects of Adam's transgression. This the apostle shows in the 5th chapter of the epistle to the Romans; and in another epistle, speaking of the resurrection of the dead, he asserts, that, "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."‡ It affords one of the most encouraging consi-

* Ephes. iii. 6. † Col. iii. 11. Gal, iii. 28.
‡ 1 Cor. xv. 22.

derations, that these benefits are thus unlimited; and that, through the propitiatory sacrifice of our blessed Redeemer; and by that Spirit, the more plentiful effusion of which he hath purchased for mankind; the advantages resulting from his death may be received, even by those, whose situation may deprive them of the opportunity of an external knowledge of the truths of the gospel.

Unless we admit this, we shall greatly contract the benefits of Christ's coming. He "tasted death for every man."* His "light lighteth every man that cometh into the world."† And, although the outward knowledge of these gospel truths may be withheld from many, yet their operation is not therefore necessarily frustrated. How many partake of favours of which they cannot trace the cause! He, who is not willing that any should perish, has doubtless provided means by which this state of perdition may be avoided, even by those to whom his providence, has not afforded opportunities to obtain a historical knowledge of the truths of Christianity. Those, however, who are in possession of this knowledge, cannot be too thankful for it; in that they are enabled to draw nigh

* Heb. ii. 9. † John i. 9.

unto God with more full assurance of faith; and, confiding in their blessed Redeemer, are encouraged, under their various conflicts and exercises, to look unto him who is "touched with the feeling of our infirmities,"* and "is able to succour those that are tempted."†

The Christian religion then teaches, that our first parents having sinned, and lost the divine image, the fallen nature became so predominant, that it was by them transferred to their offspring: but in order that man might be restored to favour, and to a state of purity, it pleased the Almighty to promise and send a Redeemer, whose sacrifice of himself he saw meet to accept, as the means of reconciliation and forgiveness of sins; hereby putting an end to all those sacrifices, which, from the fall, or very soon after, to the time when Christ thus offered up himself, had been adopted as the means of obtaining acceptance with God. And although we cannot trace this practice to a divine command, earlier than the time of Moses; yet the universal adoption of it by the religious of all ages, is a strong implication that it was of divine origin, instituted in reference to that "one of-

* Heb. iv. 15. † Heb. ii. 18.

fering, by which God hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."*

Thus, the chief objects of the coming of Christ, evidently appear to have been, first, by the sacrifice of himself, to make atonement to God for us, and to become the Mediator between God and man. Secondly, by the sanctifying operation of the holy Spirit, "to finish transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to bring in everlasting righteousness."† And thirdly, by putting an end to the legal dispensation, and, as the apostle expresses it, "blotting out the hand writing of ordinances that was against us,"‡ to lead mankind to a more pure and spiritual worship of the Divine Being.

It also appears that the Christian redemption is throughout a work of love. "God so *loved* the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."§ In this point of view, we contemplate this interesting and important subject; and not as the effect of implacable wrath, as some represent it. Christ was and is the gift of God. Thus the holy

* Heb. x. 14. † Dan. ix. 24. ‡ Col. ii. 14.
§ John iii. 16.

scriptures represent the subject to us; and surely, the greater the gift, the greater the love. "God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."* He co-operated with the Father in this gracious design; and though he was of the same divine nature, he condescended to take upon him our human nature, and "was made flesh and dwelt among us,† until he had by his life, and by his death, as man, completed the work that was given him to do; after which he ascended to that glory, which he had with the Father before the world began.

Here we are led to consider the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, in which we, as a people, do most surely believe; but as every thing relating to the Divine Being, which is not expressly revealed, is far above the reach of human comprehension, we are desirous of avoiding all such particular disquisitions, as lead beyond the clear expression of holy writ. We can indeed say on this, as on every other occasion, that we believe all that the scriptures have spoken and inculcated: we believe that the evangelist was clearly speaking of Jesus Christ, and of his Divinity or Godhead, when he said, "In the

* Rom. v. 8. † John i. 14.

beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men."* "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us."† Here we have a clear and full testimony both to the Divinity and the humanity of Christ; and we have ever since we were a people, borne testimony to this scripture doctrine.

We likewise believe in the divinity of the Holy Spirit, which is frequently united in scripture with the Father and with the Son; and whose office, in the instruction and salvation of mankind, is set forth in divers passages of holy writ. See Matt. xxviii. 19. John xv. 26. Acts xxviii. 25. Heb. ix. 14.

This belief in the Divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, induced some of the teachers in the Christian church, about three hundred years after the personal appearance of Christ, to form a doctrine, to which they gave the name of Trinity; but in our writings, we

* John i, 1 to 4. † Ibid. 14.

seldom make use of this term, thinking it best, on such a subject, to keep to scriptural expressions, and to avoid those disputes which have since perplexed the Christian world, and led into speculations beyond the power of human abilities to decide. If we consider that we ourselves are composed of a union of "spirit, and soul and body,"* and yet cannot determine how even these are united; how much less may we expect perfect clearness on a subject, so far above our finite comprehension, as that of the divine nature.

After expressing our sentiments on what is called the Trinity, it will be proper to explain our views of the doctrine of justification, concerning which so much diversity of sentiment prevails; some imputing it wholly to faith, and others principally, if not wholly, to works.

So far as remission of sins, and a capacity to receive salvation, are parts of justification, we attribute it to the sacrifice of Christ; "in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace."† But when we consider justification as a state of divine favour and acceptance, we

* 1 Thess. v. 23. † Eph. i. 7.

ascribe it, not simply either to faith or works, but to the sanctifying operation of the spirit of Christ, from which living faith and acceptable works alone proceed; and by which we may come to know, that "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God."*

In attributing our justification, through the grace of God in Christ Jesus, to the operation of the Holy Spirit, which sanctifies the heart, and produces the work of regeneration, we are supported by the testimony of the apostle Paul, who says: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but of his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost."† Again, "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."‡

By this view of the doctrine of justification, we conceive the apparently different sentiments of the apostles Paul and James are reconciled. Neither of them say, that faith alone, or works alone, are the cause of our being justified; but as one of them asserts the necessity of faith,

* Rom. viii. 16. † Titus iii. 5. ‡ 1 Cor. vi. 11.

and the other of works, for effecting this great object, a clear and convincing proof is afforded that both contribute to our justification; and that faith without works, and works without faith, are equally dead.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, is so connected with the Christian religion, that it will be also proper to say something on this subject. In explaining our belief of this doctrine, we refer to the xvth chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. In this chapter is clearly laid down the resurrection of a body, though not of the same body that dies. "There are celestial bodies, and there are bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another.—So also is the resurrection of the dead.—It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body: there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption."* Here we rest our belief in this "mystery," without desiring to pry into it beyond what is revealed to us; remembering, that "secret things belong

* 1 Cor. xv. 40, 42, 44, 50.

unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed, belong unto us and to our children."*

Many are the arguments and evidences which might be brought forward in favour of the Christian religion; but none appears to be more forcible, than the purity of that morality which is inculcated by it; and which is most effectually adapted to the promotion of the happiness of mankind in this world, as well as in that which is to come. A just test of principles, as well as of men, was laid down by our Saviour in these words: "By their fruits ye shall know them."† It is the conduct to which principles lead, by which we are to judge of their rectitude; rather than by the actions of men, who may profess these principles, but whose weakness may often cause a violation of them. Now, to apply this test to Christ and his religion, let us first attend to that angelic song, with which his birth was introduced into the world: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace; good will towards men."‡ Next, let us consider how his precepts and his example corresponded with it. Read that most excellent sermon on

* Deut. xxix. 29. † Matt. vii. 20. ‡ Luke ii. 14.

the mount; look at the example he has left us, under all the temptations and trials which, for our sakes, were permitted to assail him. With what firmness did he reprove the vices and hypocrisy of the Jews! With what meekness did he bear their insults and persecutions! Truly, indeed, was it foretold of him; "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth."* And when this people had executed upon him all that their malice could devise, he, consistently with the precepts which he had inculcated, in return for all their injuries, put up this most affecting prayer; "Father! forgive them; they know not what they do."†

But this example and these precepts were not confined to our holy head and high priest. In that part of conduct which is the most difficult for human nature, the forgiveness of injuries, we find the proto-martyr, Stephen, followed his Lord's example; and, when expiring under the cruelties of the same people, thus poured out his soul unto God: "Lord! lay not this sin to their charge."‡ What other religion

* Isaiah liii. 7.—This whole chapter is a remarkable prediction of the coming and sufferings of Christ.

† Luke xxiii. 34. ‡ Acts vii. 60.

is there, that inculcates a conduct like this! that teaches not only to forgive injuries, but even to pray for those that are the cause of them! Precepts which alone give a decided preference to Christianity, above all other religions in the world.

Let us next look into those epistles, which the apostles addressed to the Christian converts, both among the Jews and Gentiles; and there we shall again find, in addition to the doctrinal part of Christianity, such a spirit of pure morality and true love, so uniformly inculcated, and the duties of every station in life taught with so much simplicity and energy, as to render the reading of them pleasing and instructive; and at the same time gaining the assent of our judgment, however remote from them our practice may frequently be. The following extract from the Epistle to the Romans is brought forward, not because it contains matter superior to many other parts of the epistles; but because of the conciseness, the simplicity, and the energy, with which the important precepts are conveyed: "Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honour preferring one

another; not slothful in business; fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer; distributing to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality. Bless them which persecute you: bless and curse not. Rejoice with them that do rejoice; and weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one towards another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits. Recompence to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men."*—"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."†

It may not be necessary to enter much into those arguments, which the miracles performed by Christ and his apostles, afford for the truth of the Christian religion. If what is advanced in favour of the truth and credibility of the holy scriptures, be admitted, these arguments must unavoidably strike every considerate and impartial, mind with irresistible force. It may, however, be proper to observe, that the credibility of these accounts, so far at least as they relate

* Rom. xii. 9 to 18. † Ib. xii. 21.

to our blessed Saviour, receives great additional force, by being confirmed in many parts, by four different testimonies, whose distinct concurring evidence affords no small confirmation of the truth of their relations. This confirmation is rather increased than lessened, by the slight variations which sometimes appear; for, by these variations, no suspicion can reasonably be fixed of a preconcerted design to impose upon the world. Two of the evangelists, at least, were witnesses of what they wrote; a third tells us, that he was one of those who received information from such, as, from the beginning, were eye witnesses and ministers of the word; and the fourth is supposed to have written when in company with the apostle Peter, and to have received his information and instruction from him. To these relations of the evangelists, the following declaration and testimony of Peter afford additional confirmntion: "We have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his Majesty; for he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice from the excellent glory: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."*

* 2 Peter i. 16, 17.

In whatever point of view, therefore, we consider the Christian religion, it exhibits to us a plan and design worthy of our great and gracious Creator; and so well adapted to the state of the human heart, that nothing appears to be wanting but the acceptance of the terms on which it is offered. Yet the condition on which only we can be true Christians, requiring us to deny ourselves, and take up a daily cross to our evil propensities, this doctrine and that foundation on which it is built, are now, as formerly, to some a stumbling block, and to others, foolishness. It is indeed to be feared, that many who adopt the Christian religion in theory, are but little acquainted with it in practice. True Christianity is more adapted to the heart, than to the head: it is not so much a system of doctrines, as it is the power of God unto salvation. Nevertheless, it necessarily includes doctrines; but then it requires a union of the spirit with the letter; of faith and of works; of the power and of the form of godliness. To unite these in our hearts, and in our actions, is what appears to me to constitute the true and perfect Christian.

CHAP. IV.

ON THE INFLUENCES OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

The Gift of the Spirit an essential of Christianity. Different names for the Spirit.—Necessity of its assistance—universally afforded—and in all ages—but most plentifully in the Gospel.—Unconditional election and reprobation disowned and disproved.

IN the preceding chapter, the gift of the Holy Spirit has been considered as an essential part of true Christianity; but as it is a doctrine on which we insist,* more than other professors

* The word "insist," is here used, because it is not a doctrine peculiar to us, but only one on which we lay more stress than most other Christians. The church of England holds the doctrine much as we do, as may be seen in the liturgy, from which are extracted the two following collects, and to which others of a similar tendency might be added. "The fifth Sunday after Easter."—"O Lord, from whom all good things do come, grant to us, thy humble servants, that *by thy holy inspiration*, we may think those things that be good; and *by thy merciful guiding* may perform the same, through our Lord Jesus Christ, *Amen*." "The 19th Sunday after Trinity."—"O God, forasmuch as without thee we are unable to please thee; mercifully grant that *thy holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule* our hearts, through," &c.—See also Knox's Christian Philosophy.

of the Christian name, I have apprehended it proper to appropriate a chapter to this subject; and, for that reason, have said less upon it, than I should otherwise have done, when treating of the general doctrines of Christianity.

There are different names in the scriptures, by which this Spirit is denominated. It is not only called the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God, and of Christ; but it is also distinguished with great propriety by the appellation of "the Grace of God;"* as being a mark of his peculiar favour to mankind. Another appropriate denomination is "Light," by which are evinced its effects, in manifesting what is good and what is evil. "For whatsoever doth make manifest is Light."† Other names might be enumerated by which the same thing is distinguished; but these may be sufficient to convey a clear idea of what I have in view.

The holy scriptures so frequently make mention of this divine influence; and enforce it with

* In some instances, the word grace in scripture simply means favour; but in others, it evidently implies an inward operative principle, and is synonymous with the Holy Spirit.—See Cruden's and Taylor's Concordances under Grace.

† Ephes. v. 13.

so much energy, that there is no doctrine derived from these writings, on which they appear to be more clear and explicit, and to afford less room for objection and controversy.

In considering this subject, it may be proper to advance and support the following positions.

1.—The necessity of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, for understanding the things, and for working the works, of God.

2.—That such a portion of this Spirit, as is necessary for working out the soul's salvation, is afforded to mankind universally.

With regard to the first position, the apostle Paul argues the case so forcibly, and with such logical clearness, that I shall quote his words, both as the best arguments and the best authority, that can be adduced on the occasion. "What man, (saith he) knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."* After which he proceeds thus: "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God;

* 1 Cor. ii. 11.

that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God: which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."*

In the epistle to the Romans, the apostle also shows the necessity of the assistance of the Spirit, saying expressly: "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his—for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God: for ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.—Likewise, the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered."†

From these passages, and from many others which might be adduced, it appears clearly,

* 1 Cor. ii. 12—14. † Rom. viii. 9, 14, 15, 16, 26.

that the influence of the Holy Spirit is necessary for the performance of those duties, which make us truly acceptable unto God. It is by our humble attention to this Spirit, that we are instructed in these duties, and enabled to perform them; and, by abiding under its purifying influences, we are gradually created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works. By this Spirit we are also instructed in the great and solemn duty of prayer; "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance."* It is likewise by this Spirit, that those who are called to the sacred office of gospel ministry, are "made able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the Spirit; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life."†

In addition to these clear and forcible declarations, it may be proper to remark, that they are grounded on such arguments, as evince them not to be confined to the times of the apostles, or primitive Christians; but being adapted to the weakness of man, they may reasonably be supposed to last as long as that weakness remains: and unless it can be proved that, since those times, mankind have received

* Ephes. vi. 18. † 2 Cor. iii. 6.

such an extraordinary accession of natural powers, as makes religion and virtue more easily attained than formerly, we should thankfully submit to be instructed and assisted by the same supernatural means, which the holy scriptures so strongly recommend, as essential to the performance of those religious duties which we owe to our great Creator, and to our merciful Redeemer.

We come now to the second position, viz. that such a portion of the Holy Spirit, as is necessary for working out the soul's salvation, is afforded to mankind universally.

It has already been shown, that there are different names by which this Spirit is distinguished. We apprehend it to be a degree of the same, which the apostle alluded to, when, writing to the Romans respecting the state of the Gentile world, he says, "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law; these having not the law, are a law unto themselves, which show the work of the law written in their hearts; their consciences also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing, or else excusing one another."*

* Rom. ii. 14 and 15.

We also find that the Spirit of God strove with the antediluvian world, respecting which the Almighty gave this declaration; "My Spirit shall not always strive with man."* Concerning the Jews in the Mosaic dispensation, Nehemiah expresses himself thus in his prayer: "Thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them."† And by Isaiah it is said, "They rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit; therefore he was turned to be their enemy."‡

Thus we see, in every age and state of the world, there has been a secret principle at work in the minds of men, which formed the basis of all true religion, and by inattention and disobedience to which, they fell into those enormities that produced the just judgments of an offended God. We believe that this divine principle is, as has already been intimated, the same with that which the Evangelist John calls "the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;"§ that it is the gospel which Paul says, "was preached to (or in‖) every creature which is under heaven;"¶ and that it is what he elsewhere styles "the Grace of God, which

* Gen. vi. 3. † Neh. ix. 20. ‡ Isaiah lxiii. 10.
§ John i. 9. ‖ The Greek is "ἐυπάσῃ τῇ κλίσει."
¶ Col. i. 23.

bringeth salvation, and has appeared unto all men."*

But although this divine principle has always been, in degree, afforded to mankind; yet it was by the gospel dispensation, that not only life and immortality were brought to light; but that the Holy Spirit was more plentifully poured forth, and became as it were the leading feature of that religion, which our blessed Redeemer has introduced into the world. With this view of the subject, I apprehend, the Evangelist expresses himself thus: "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified."† And in another place; "The law was given by Moses; but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ."‡ Of this Grace the Apostle Paul, in particular, frequently speaks in his epistles; but most fully in that to Titus, in the passage just referred to: this passage it may be proper here to give at large. "The Grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour

* Tit. ii. 11. † John vii. 39. ‡ John i. 17.

Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."* This is a text to which we often refer, as describing the essence of the Christian religion; and conveying in the clearest manner, our belief in the quality, the universality, and the effects of that gift of divine Grace, to which the apostle bears this ample testimony; and which, we here see, co-operates with that great object, for which the Son of God was manifested in the flesh. This object, according to the testimony of another apostle, was, "To destroy the works of the devil;"† the principal of which, it scarcely need be said, is sin.

But to return to the preceding passage in Titus. There are three inferences evidently resulting from it. 1.—That this Grace is of that quality, which produceth salvation. 2.—That it is universal: not confined to a part of mankind; but extended "to all men." 3.—That its instructions are such as invariably lead to the practice of piety and virtue. The first and third of these inferences will, it is presumed, be generally, if not universally acceded to; but the second, though equally deducible from the

* Titus ii. 11—14. † 1 John iii. 8.

apostle's words, some may endeavour to explain away; and to reconcile with those ideas of unconditional election and reprobation, which they have entertained; and on which it may be proper, in this place, to make a few remarks.

This doctrine asserts, that the Almighty has irrevocably decreed a certain number of human beings to everlasting happiness; and that the rest are as certainly doomed to the commission of sin, and to its consequence, eternal misery. That this is no exaggerated description, will appear from the quotations given in the margin,* from the writings of the advocates of this doctrine; and I should think, that to describe it, was enough to refute it, had we not, in many other instances, as well as in this, occasion to

* "I say, that by the ordination and will of God, Adam fell, God would have man to fall. We refer the cause of hardening us to God." *Calvin.* "God hath predestinated not only unto damnation, but also unto the causes of it, whomsoever he saw meet." *Beza.* "It is the opinion of our doctors, that God did inevitably decree the temptation and fall of man." *Paræus.* "God moveth the robber to kill. He killeth, God forcing him thereunto." *Zuinglius.* "Reprobate persons (saith *Piscator*) are absolutely ordained to this two-fold end; to undergo everlasting punishment, and necessarily to sin; and therefore to sin, that they may be justly punished."—See Barclay's Apology, prop. v. sect. 2.

observe, in how different a point of view different men see the same subject. That the holy scriptures, those faithful records both of the justice and mercy of God, should be pressed to the support of such a sentiment, is matter of surprise. I am aware that some parts of the scriptures, taken without their context, may be supposed to incline to this sentiment.* This is particularly the case in the Epistle to the Romans, in which the Apostle is setting forth the call of the Gentiles, and the temporary rejection of the Jews; justifying, with great energy, the power and the wisdom, the goodness and the severity, of God in this respect: but that he meant thereby to inculcate, that the Almighty, personally and unconditionally, elect-

* It is worthy of remark, that several passages in our English translation, which seem to favour this doctrine, are capable of a different rendering. For instance, in Acts c. ii. 23, where it is translated, "Him being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God," &c. the Greek word, ἔκδοτον rendered, *delivered*, may, with equal, or more propriety, be translated, *given forth;* then the passage may be read thus: "Him, who was given forth by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and with wicked hands have crucified and slain." Another Greek word is used in every passage that is rendered, *delivered.* Acts iv. 27. and 1 Peter ii. 8. are also capable of being differently translated.

ed individuals to a state of future happiness, and decreed others to a state of misery, is what I think no fair construction of the Epistle will warrant. On the contrary, after showing and enforcing the right of the Almighty, to make use of individuals, or of nations, for carrying on his great and unsearchable designs; the apostle sets forth, even with respect to the Gentiles, the call of whom it was peculiarly his object to justify, that their continuance in divine favour, depended upon the steadfastness of their faith and faithfulness to him, who had "called them out of darkness into his marvellous light;"* and "made them partakers of his promise in Christ Jesus."†

The following quotation from that part of the epistle, in which the apostle may be said to sum up his arguments, will tend to set the subject in a clear light: "For I speak to you Gentiles; inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.—If some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert graffed in among them; and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree, boast not against the branches; but if thou boast [remember] thou bearest not

* 1 Pet. ii. 9. † Ephes. iii. 6.

the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, the branches were broken off, that I might be graffed in. Well, because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith; be not high minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God; on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off: and they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be graffed in; for God is able to graff them in again."*

Here we see no unconditional election or reprobation; but a doctrine which perfectly comports with the declaration of the Almighty about six hundred years before, when, after sending the prophet Jeremiah to the potter's house, to instruct him at once in the divine power and mercy, he sent a message by him to the house of Israel, in this memorable language: "O House of Israel! Cannot I do with you as this potter, saith the Lord? Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O house of Israel!"† After thus setting forth his

* Rom. xi. 13—23. † Jer. xviii. 6.

power, the Almighty proceeds to show in what manner he is pleased to exercise it. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against which I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it: if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them."*

Thus we see the principle of the dealings of God, with mankind, in different ages of the world. The Ninevites are a proof of the truth of the first part of the foregoing declaration; and the Israelites of the latter: for, however, the Almighty may, in some instances, see meet to distinguish a people, or individuals, by some peculiar privileges; yet if they neglect, and trample upon his law; and are unmindful of the favours which they receive; he does not fail to punish them accordingly. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; there-

* Jer. xviii. 7, 10.

fore I will punish you for all your iniquities,"* was the declaration concerning this highly favoured people; from which, and various other passages in holy writ, we may safely conclude, that man's destruction is of himself; agreeably to another declaration of the Almighty by one of his prophets: "O Israel! thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thine help."† "The grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men," affordeth this help. It is saving grace; and it is universal grace. It is a gift consistent with every attribute of the Deity; and with the declarations concerning Him, recorded in the scriptures of truth. That the Almighty may see meet, in his unsearchable wisdom, to confer a greater degree of this grace on some than on others; and that he may peculiarly call some to particular services in his church, or in the world, are no doubt consistent with the divine attributes: but with respect to the future happiness of mankind, there is abundant reason to believe, that all receive a sufficient degree of grace to procure it: and if this grace is not equally distributed to all, yet surely, we may conclude that, at last, the judgment will be according to this most excellent rule: "Where much is given much will be required;"‡

* Amos iii. 2. † Hosea xiii. 9. ‡ Luke xii. 48.

and, consequently, where little is given, but little will be required.

In addition to what has already been said, it may be proper to observe, that, in considering this subject, we should always distinguish between those passages in the scriptures, which simply declare the power of the Almighty, and those which set forth the manner in which he exercises that power. Thus the apostle has said, and no doubt said truly, "He hath mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will he hardeneth."* But then are we not also told that, "the Lord is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works;"† and has not the very same apostle, after recommending that, "prayers and intercessions should be made for all men,"‡ expressly declared that, "this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth?"§ Correspondent with this is the language of the apostle Peter: "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, (as some men count slackness) but is long suffering to us-ward; not wil-

* Rom. ix. 18. † Psalm cxlv. 9. ‡ 1 Tim. ii. 1.
§ 1 Tim. ii. 3, 4.

ling that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance."*

It should also be considered, that hardness of heart is the punishment, and not the original cause, of sin; nor does the hardness spoken of by the apostle in the Epistle to the Romans, necessarily imply perpetual hardness; for of the Jews whom he represents in a state of hardness, he says, "If they abide not still in unbelief, they shall be graffed in again."†

If God did judicially harden, or suffer to be hardened, those who had been long wilfully disobedient to his laws, he might, with great propriety, "show his wrath, and make his power known in the vessels of wrath, fitted for destruction"‡ by their own accumulated trangressions. Thus were Pharaoh and the Jews monuments of the justice of an offended God, and warnings to succeeding generations, not to despise those long suffering mercies, with which he waits the return of those who sin against him.

Seeing then that the designs of our great and gracious Creator are so replete with "good-will

* 2 Peter iii. 9. † Rom. xi. 23. ‡ Ib. ix. 22.

to men;" that, as far as is consistent with the free agency, with which he has seen meet to endow us, he is ever willing our happiness, and furnishing us with the means of procuring it; "Let us draw nigh with a true heart, in full assurance of faith;"* and trusting in that merciful redemption, by which we have, on repentance, the forgiveness of sins; "Let us come boldly to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need."† Thus will that sanctification of heart, and holiness of life, be experienced, without which, we are told, "No man shall see the Lord:"‡ and all will redound to the glory of God, who has "shown the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness towards us, through Christ Jesus."§

* Heb. x. 22. † Ibid. iv. 16. ‡ Ibid. xii. 14. § Ephes. ii. 7.

CHAP. V.

ON DIVINE WORSHIP AND GOSPEL MINISTRY.

Worship an act of the soul towards God.—Meetings for worship may be held in silence.—Public worship an indispensable duty—reasonable and beneficial.—Silent worship adapted to all states.—Its advantages. Scripture arguments for it.—Prayer a necessary duty.—The qualifications of Ministers.—Human learning not essential to the Ministry.—No individual has a right exclusively to assume the exercise of it.—On Women's preaching.—On preaching for hire.—Tithes.

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, treated on those subjects in which we nearly agree with the generality of Christian professors, I come now to consider those points, in which we materially differ from them. Two of these, being nearly connected, are included in one chapter, though it will also be necessary to consider them separately. These are, Divine Worship and Gospel Ministry.

With respect to the first, we consider that worship is an act of the soul towards God; that

He is a Spirit; that the soul of man is spiritual; and therefore that, in the performance of the solemn duty of worship, words are not essentially necessary; because He, who is a Spirit, understands the language of the Spirit. Nevertheless, we do not disapprove the use of words in our religious meetings, whether in prayer, praises, or in the exercise of gospel ministry, when they are delivered under the influence of the Holy Spirit, which alone can, as we apprehend, rightly qualify for the performance of these important services. Hence, when we come to our places of religious worship, we think it right to sit down in silence, and wait therein upon God, for the assistance of that Spirit which helpeth our infirmities, and without which we know not what to pray for as we ought. Here we may be favoured, at times, to feel the Spirit itself making intercession for us; under the influence of which, we believe, a secret aspiration will ascend with more acceptance before the Father of spirits, than any form of words which may be prepared for us, or that does not arise from a heart thus qualified for verbal expression.

Holding our meetings under these impressions, it very frequently happens that they are

continued throughout in silence; a state which, when attended with a right exercise of mind, we consider as best adapted to the performance of the solemn duty of divine worship: for here, every individual who feels his own condition and necessities, can secretly pour out his soul unto God, without distraction or interruption; and here also we can freely partake of those divine influences upon the mind, which, when mercifully afforded, constitute the highest enjoyment of man upon earth.

But we are sensible that these effects are not always experienced in our religious meetings. We fear that some who attend them, have not their minds rightly exercised; we know that divine good is not at our command: and we believe that the sensible enjoyment of it is often withheld for a season, and sometimes for a long season, from the truly exercised mind: "Verily, thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour."* But, even in this situation, we think it much safer to wait in a state of passive silence, than, by the activity of the creature, to rush unprepared into those external acts of devotion, which we believe are no fur-

* Isaiah xlv. 15.

ther acceptable, than as they come from a heart rightly prepared to offer them. A state of humble, silent waiting and dependance on Divine help, is so adapted to the relation in which man stands to his great Creator, that we believe it peculiarly likely to meet with divine acceptance and regard: "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching."* But to those who do not patiently abide in this state of mind, a very different consequence is shown to result: "Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow."† And we ought by no means to forget the consequence under the law, of offering strange fire to the Lord.‡

We consider it an indispensable duty, publicly to meet together for the worship of God; and "not to forsake the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is."§ It is both a reasonable and a beneficial duty; reasonable, because it is a public acknowledgment of our

* Luke xii. 37. † Is. l. 11. ‡ Lev. x. 1 to 5.
§ Heb. x. 25.

dependance on the Supreme Being; and beneficial, because we may, if rightly exercised in our minds, be favoured to draw nigh unto God, by the Spirit of his Son; and thus experience that communion, which is with the Father, and with his Son Christ Jesus; and which the true Christian travellers also have one with another in him.

In a silent travail of spirit for this desirable experience, the spiritual strength of those who are thus exercised, is increased; they become helpful one to another, in promoting the circulation of that life in which their fellowship consists, and are, at times, so united in feeling one for and with another, as to attain to an experience similar to that which the apostle describes: "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."*

It may be supposed by some, that although this mode of worship may be adapted to adults in religious experience, it is too refined an attainment for those who are in a state of infancy in religion; or who are much strangers to it. We, however, consider it as eminently adapted

* 1 Cor. xii. 26.

to every human being, who is desirous of being acceptable in the sight of his Creator. Where is the well disposed mind, that has not occasion for an attention to that universal command, "What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch!"* This secret attention and exercise of mind is therefore necessary for all; and as man is willing to be reduced into it, the weak and erring mind may be brought to the discovery of its own state; and feeling the necessity of Divine aid to overcome its evil propensities, and to secure eternal happiness, may thus feel also the necessity, and the qualification, to pray for forgiveness of past sins, and for ability so to live under the influences of Divine fear and love, as to experience preservation from those evils which abound in the world, or to which the mind may be naturally prone.

Many, therefore, we conceive, are the advantages which result from silent worship. It enables a number of Christians to meet together for the performance of this important duty, without depending on any man to assist them therein; a dependence, which deprives numbers of publicly discharging this duty, even once in

* Mark xiii. 37.

the week. It also preserves from the dangerous situation of drawing nigh unto God with the mouth, and honouring him with the lips, whilst the heart is far from Him; and it is peculiarly adapted to the performance of that worship in spirit and in truth; concerning which our blessed Redeemer has given this memorable testimony: "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father, in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit; and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth."*

In addition to the foregoing reasons, many passages may be adduced from the scriptures, pointing out the advantage of silent waiting upon God. In reading those devotional effusions, which have been transmitted to us in the book of Psalms, we find this waiting strongly and frequently inculcated. The evangelical prophet likewise speaks frequently of the benefit of such a state of waiting, in which silence is either expressed, or necessarily implied. The latter part of the fortieth chapter, and the beginning of the forty-first, are so apposite to the

* John iv. 23 & 24.

present subject; and at the same time, so replete with religious instruction and consolation, that it may be useful to give them at large: "Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My way is hid from the Lord, and my judgment is passed over from my God? Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary? There is no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might, he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men utterly fall: but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint. Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the people renew their strength; let them come near, then let them speak; let us come near together to judgment."*

But whilst we are laying aside the outward forms, we are far, very far indeed, from desiring to discourage the practice of true prayer. It is a duty which we owe to our great Creator; and which the feeling of our own manifold

* Isaiah xl. 27 to 31. and xli. 1.

wants and dangers, will often draw from the rightly concerned mind. It is indeed difficult to conceive, how any thing deserving the name of religion, can be preserved without it. "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation,"* is an injunction delivered by our Holy Head and High Priest, who in this, as in many other instances, has shown, that he was, as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expresses it, "Touched with the feeling of our infirmities;"† for he immediately adds, "the Spirit indeed is willing; but the flesh is weak." In this command, our blessed Lord sets forth both the necessity and the preparation for this great duty, which constitutes a very important part of religious worship. We are not to rush hastily or unpreparedly either into private or public prayer; but having our minds engaged in true watchfulness, or waiting, for the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the soul, we thereby become qualified to put up our petitions to the Father of Spirits in such a manner, as the impressions which he affords us of our wants shall indicate. And when we are brought into a humbling consideration of the many mercies and favours, of which we are unworthy partakers, as the objects of creation, of redemption,

* Matt. xxvi. 41. † Heb. iv. 15.

and of that bountiful provision which is made for us, we shall find abundant cause frequently to offer that praise, by which the Almighty is glorified: and of which he is, with the Son of his love, through the eternal Spirit, for ever worthy.

After these remarks on religious worship, we proceed to the consideration of the subject of Gospel Ministry.

The right qualification of those who occupy the station of ministers, is of great importance to every religious society. It will, I presume, be universally agreed to be in the first place necessary, that the principles and practice of these should correspond with their profession and station; and next, that they be called and qualified according to the nature and principles of that religion, which they stand forth to espouse. To apply these self-evident rules to the Christian religion, under its various divisions, it must be deemed necessary for a gospel minister, that he possess a heartfelt conviction of the truths of Christianity, as well as of the principles of that particular society, of which he is a member; also that his moral conduct be such as the gospel of Christ requires. When

there is any material deficiency either in principle or practice, there is reason to fear that such will do more injury than benefit to the cause of religion; as well as render themselves objects of disgust and contempt, "Unto the wicked, God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes; or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth; seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee?"*

As to the further qualification for a gospel minister, although the definition already given may be generally agreed to, yet, in the application of it, there exists some diversity of sentiment. As the nature and principles of the Christian religion are the same now as formerly, we conceive that the same Divine call and influence, which qualified the early ministers and promulgators of the gospel, should be, in a degree at least, experienced by its ministers to the end of the world: especially as we have no other qualification pointed out in the holy scriptures. This call was "not of men, neither by man; but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father."† We believe that the same is inwardly and immediately received by the true

* Psalm l. 16 & 17. † Gal. i. 1.

gospel ministers of the present day; and that, in the discharge of the duties of this sacred office, the renewed influences of divine wisdom and strength should be waited for and experienced. Thus ministers are qualified to speak to the state of their hearers; and to baptize them into the name [or power] of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; thereby fulfilling that true commission for gospel ministry given by our Saviour, Mat. xxviii. 19.

The foregoing qualifications correspond with the description, which the apostle Peter gives of prophecy, and which we conceive to be descriptive of the essentials of a gospel minister. "Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."* Thus we see, that both ancient prophecy and gospel ministry came "not of men, nor by man;" that they required those who exercised them to be holy men of God; such as could say to others, "Walk, as ye have us for an example;"† and that in performing the duties of these offices, they should speak "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" or in other words, as the "Spirit

* 2 Peter i. 21. † Phil. iii. 17.

gave them utterance."* If ministers are not thus influenced and directed, we may expect the declaration respecting the prophets formerly, who ran and were not sent, to be verified: "They shall not profit the people at all."† Nor should this serious language be forgotten: "Woe unto the foolish prophets, that follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing."‡

What is said respecting an inward call to the ministry, is by no means peculiar to our religious society. However the doctrine of the influence of the Spirit may be slighted by some, it is in this instance, as well as in its general influence and operation, clearly maintained by the church of England, as appears by the following question put to those who apply to be admitted to the office of deacon: "Do you trust that you are *inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost*, to take upon you this office and ministration," &c. The answer required is, "I trust so." This doctrine is also consistent with the general observation on the priesthood, made by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron."§ The writ-

* Acts ii. 4. † Jer. xxiii. 32. ‡ Ezek. xiii. 3.
§ Hebrews v. 4.

ings of the apostles abundantly show not only whence they derived their commission, but also the influence under which they exercised it. Thus the Apostle Paul says: "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth."*

From all these considerations, we believe, as is already stated, that it is necessary, in the first call to the ministry, to be "inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost;" and that, in the various performances of this sacred office, the renewings of this divine influence and ability should be waited for, and experienced, as the most likely means to fulfil the apostolic exhortation: "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."†

From our views of this important subject, there arise a few points, in which we materially differ from most other professors of Christianity.

* 1 Cor. ii. 13. † 1 Peter iv. 11.

1.—In not considering human learning essential to a gospel minister.

2.—In believing that no individual has a right to assume the exclusive exercise of this ministry, in a congregation of Christians; but that all, both male and female, who are rightly moved thereto, may exercise this gift.

3.—That this ministry being, if rightly received, received freely, and without any pecuniary expense to qualify for it, it therefore ought to be freely communicated; and no further support expected by ministers, than what is authorized by Christ, and was practised by his apostles.

Upon each of these points it seems proper to make a few remarks.

On the first very little appears necessary; for if we consider the holy scriptures, and particularly the New Testament, as any guide to us in this matter, we shall not only find, that human literature is no where recommended for this office; but likewise, that many of the apostles were illiterate men. It is also clear that the

apostle Paul, though a man of learning, disclaimed the influence of it upon his ministry, as appears from various parts of his epistles, particularly from the first and second chapters of the epistle to the Corinthians, of which the first five verses of the second chapter appear especially worthy of notice: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God: for I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling: and my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."*

But although we do not consider human learning as essential to a gospel minister; yet we are so far from disesteeming or slighting its use, that we wish due attention to be paid to it by the members of our society: for we believe that those who have it, and are disposed to make a right use of it, may apply it to the promotion

* 1 Cor. ii. 1 to 5.

of religion and virtue, as well as to the benefit of civil society.

With respect to the second point, we have the practice of the primitive church so decidedly in our favour, that I am at a loss to conceive how a practice so repugnant to it, can have so generally prevailed as it has done, in almost all the Christian churches.

The practice alluded to is, that of an individual assuming the exclusive exercise of the ministry; which is directly contrary to what the apostle recommends, as well as declares to be the practice of the church in early times. This appears clear from the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, where, first addressing the believers in general, the apostle thus expresses himself: "Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts; but rather that ye may prophesy."* By this prophesying, he does not appear so much to mean the foretelling of future events, as the general purposes of gospel ministry; for in the third verse he says, "He that prophesieth, speaketh unto men to exhortation, to edification and comfort."† After this general advice and explanation, he proceeds to

* 1 Cor. xiv. 1. † 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

show the superiority of prophesying to speaking with tongues; and then of those who have received this divine gift, he says, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge. If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace; for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted."*

After stating this unequivocal description of the rule and practice of the primitive church, I shall proceed to the consideration of another part of this head, from which it appears that we admit women, as well as men, to a participation and exercise of the gift of gospel ministry. We are aware of the objection which is made from the prohibition laid upon women speaking and teaching in the church, and usurping authority over the man.† But if, on every occasion, where there is an apparent difference between one part of scripture and another, it is admitted that scripture is the best interpreter of scripture, I believe very little difficulty will arise in removing this objection. It should be considered, that the words used by the apostle on this occasion, cannot mean the exercise of gos-

* 1 Cor. xiv. 29 to 31. † 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

pel ministry; because, in the very epistle in which he first mentions this prohibition, he gives particular directions respecting the manner in which women are to exercise that gift, which he denominates "praying or prophesying;"* and which he no doubt considered as different from speaking, teaching, or usurping authority: for it cannot with any colour of reason be supposed, that the apostle would give directions for the exercise of that, which he thought never should be exercised."†

In addition to the preceding argument, several other passages in the Old and New Testaments may be advanced, which clearly show, that women, as well as men, were engaged in the work of the ministry, or as prophetesses in early times. Passing over Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah, we find Anna, a prophetess in the Jewish church, publicly exercising her gift in the Temple; and hailing the recent birth of the Messiah. The Samaritan woman, with whom our Saviour held an interesting conversation at Jacob's well, appears to have been the first of his disciples, who publicly preached the coming

* 1 Cor. xi. 4.

† See John Locke's note on Cor. xi. 3. where he supports the construction here given.

of Christ; and remarkable was the success which attended her ministry. Women were the first witnesses of our Lord's resurrection, and were commissioned by him to proclaim this important truth to his disciples. After his ascension, they were, equally with the men, partakers of the effusions of the Holy Spirit; and we find several females mentioned as being prophetesses or fellow-labourers with the apostles in the Gospel of Christ. Luke, in speaking of Philip the deacon, says, "the same man had four daughters, which did prophesy."* In the Epistle to the Romans, the apostle says, "I recommend unto you Phebe our sister, who is a servant of the church that is at Cenchrea."†[a] Greet Priscilla [b] and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus."‡ "Salute Tryphæna and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord. Salute the

* Acts xx. 9.

[a] The Greek word in this passage rendered servant is the same as in other places is rendered deacon or minister. It is rendered minister here in almost all other translations.

[b] Priscilla is here, and in two other passages, placed before her husband; from which, and other circumstances, we may conclude she was a minister of no small eminence in the church.

† Rom. xvi. 1. ‡ Rom. xvi. 3.

beloved Persis,[c] which laboured much[d] in the Lord."* And in another epistle he says, "Help those women that laboured with us in the gospel."† These are passages which clearly evince the admission of the female sex, in early times, to the work and service of the gospel: but what adds not a little to our argument is, that this was expressly foretold in such a manner, as would, if we had no precedent, fully warrant the practice: for on this subject we may use the words of the apostle Peter, and say, "This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel: And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your *daughters* shall prophesy; and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants, and on my *handmaidens*, I will pour out in those days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy."‡

[c] The adjective for "beloved," being in Greek in the feminine gender, shows that Persis was a woman.

[d] The Greek words here rendered "labour and laboured," are the same as the apostle uses when he speaks of himself labouring in the gospel.

* Rom. xvi. 12, 13. † Phil. iv. 3,

‡ Acts ii. 16 to 18.

We come now to the third point, viz. the maintenance which is allowed to the ministers of the gospel. On this subject the directions of our blessed Lord are so particular, that, with the practice of his apostles, they set the matter in a very clear point of view. The directions, so far as they relate to this subject, I shall transcribe from the tenth chapter of Matthew, when Christ sent forth the twelve apostles on their first mission: "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses:—for the workman is worthy of his meat. And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, inquire who in it is worthy, and therein abide till ye go thence.—And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet."*

In the foregoing passage, we have directions for the conduct of the ministers of Christ, both when their ministry is received, and when it is rejected. In the former case, all that is provided is temporary accommodation, whilst travelling in the work of the ministry; or so en-

* Matt. x. 8 to 14.

gaged therein, as to prevent their attention to their temporal occupations. In the latter case, they are by no means authorized to extort a forced maintenance; but, as a testimony against those who reject them, they are directed to shake off the dust that cleaved to their feet. Well would it have been for the Christian religion, had its ministers, under all denominations, adhered to their Lord's instructions on this subject; and acted with that noble disinterestedness which he inculcates, and which we find practised by his immediate followers, so as to enable one of them to say, "I seek not your's, but you."* And here I cannot well avoid expressing great regret for the wound, which, there is reason to believe, Christianity has received, and still receives, from a lucrative establishment for ministers; a circumstance which holds out a temptation for unqualified, and even immoral men, to seek for, and get into that office, with no better motive (I believe it will be generally allowed) than that which it was foretold would actuate the corrupted sons of Eli; "Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices, that I may eat a piece of bread."†

* 2 Cor. xii. 14. † 1 Sam. ii. 36.

We are aware of the arguments advanced from some expressions of the apostle Paul, in favour of an established support for ministers; and which I apprehend are all comprised in the following words of this apostle: "Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple; and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel."* Now all this only proves a support consistent with what "the Lord hath ordained," and which is already given in his own words. This we readily admit, and adopt in our practice; but surely no one can infer, from the foregoing passages, that ministers are to be provided with a settled maintenance; and not to labour with their hands, or be engaged in the usual occupations of life for their own support, and that of their families.

That we are justified in the construction given of our Lord's direction, and the apostle's reference to it, is abundantly clear from the practice which resulted from it; and which cannot more completely or energetically be described, than in the words of the same apostle,

* 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

contained in his most excellent address to the elders of Ephesus, which he concludes in this memorable language: "I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, you yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that so labouring, ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive."*

These being our sentiments on this important subject, we make no provision for the support of our ministers, further than the discharge of those expenses, which travelling in their religious services necessarily occasions; and if we make no provision for the support of our own ministers, whose ministry we approve, we think ourselves fully warranted in declining to contribute to the support of others, and of a worship connected with them, from both of which we conscientiously dissent. A ministry with a settled maintenance, forced even from those, who so far disapprove of their establishment, as to withdraw from their teaching, is so evidently incompatible with the doctrine and

* Acts xx. 33 to 35.

practice of Christ and his apostles, that I think it unnecessary to say more to justify our principles in this respect. But although it appears to me to be a system so deeply injurious to the interests of true religion, I have no doubt that many, not seeing the subject in the same point of view, have seriously entered, under these circumstances, into this vocation; and are piously concerned to discharge the duties of their station. These should be left to their own master, to whom we must all, at last, either stand or fall.

After what has been said respecting the general maintenance of gospel ministers, it appears superfluous to enter into argument against that most objectionable and anti-christian mode of support by tithes. Their divine right is generally exploded and abandoned; their impolicy is almost as universally acknowledged. How far the testimony which we have borne against them may have contributed to produce these effects, is not for me to determine; but it is hoped that so long as this yoke remains, that testimony will continue to be maintained, with the firmness and meekness which should ever be united in the support of religious truths.

CHAP. VI.

ON BAPTISM AND THE SUPPER.

Preliminary Observations.—Two Kinds of Baptism—Water and the Spirit.—Remarks on Matt. xxviii. 19.*—This and other Arguments in favour of Water Baptism answered. Sprinkling not Baptism.—Sprinkling of Infants not authorised by Scripture.—Circumstances attending it highly objectionable.—The Lord's Supper.—The Circumstances attending it fully admitted. Not considered perpetual, any more than washing of Feet.—The true Lord's Supper.—Our Dissent on these Subjects, not from Disesteem of Christianity, but the reverse.*

BEFORE entering into a separate consideration of these subjects, I shall premise a few words on the nature of religious observances and ceremonies. These appear to me to be generally local or temporary; and, if we may judge from what we read in the New Testament, we may safely conclude, that the use of them is variable. There is not a practice more strictly enjoined by our blessed Lord, and that both by precept and example, than the washing of each other's feet, as related by the

evangelist John, chap. xiii. But who, considering the different local circumstances, believes this to be a duty now incumbent upon us? The apostles who met at Jerusalem, to consider the attempt of some Jewish Christians, to impose the rite of circumcision on those Gentiles who embraced Christianity, came to a solemn, and no doubt, right conclusion on such things, as it was then deemed necessary to observe;* yet none of these, except one of a moral nature, is now considered obligatory. Nay, we even find the apostle Paul, a few years after, enforcing a liberty with respect to meats offered to idols, which this decree certainly does not warrant; a decree which there is great reason to believe he had himself united in forming.

The Christian church was at that time just emerging from the ceremonies of Judaism, and the superstitions of Heathenism. In this state of things, "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost," gradually to remove those legal observances and ceremonies connected with the Mosaic dispensation; and not to enjoin an immediate disregard to the whole of them at once. It was the morning of the gospel

* Acts xv.

day; and if the brightness of that morning has been greatly obscured, which I apprehend all protestants agree with us in believing; and that the sun has been prevented from shining forth with meridian splendour, by the darkness of many unnecessary observances and traditions, which were afterwards introduced into the Christian church; we must indeed regret the circumstance: but when further light is renewed and afforded, ought we not to avail ourselves of its advantages, and endeavour to stand open to those further discoveries, which are consistent with the nature and spirit of the gospel; and which may be supported as such, by the doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures, particularly in the New Testament?

After making these general remarks, we may proceed to the consideration of the subject of Baptism. Of this we find two kinds mentioned in the New Testament; namely, Baptism with Water, and Baptism with the Spirit. The former was, in some degree, in use under the Jewish law; and some writers mention that it was occasionally both added to circumcision, and substituted for it, in the admission of proselytes. When the forerunner of our Lord appeared to

fulfil his mission, he made particular use of this ceremony; and from him it was called the Baptism of John. From this practice among the Jews, and by John the baptist, Water Baptism appears to have been introduced into the Christian church, as the mode of acknowledging its converts; but we conceive it was no more an essential part of Christianity, than other Jewish ceremonies, for a time practised by the early Christians.

It is clear that John considered his dispensation and baptism as only temporary; nor does he, as a substitute for his baptism refer his disciples to any other baptism with water, to be instituted by Christ. On the contrary, he plainly shows, that the baptism which was to supersede his, was to be of a different and a spiritual nature, as appears by these words: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire; whose fan is in his hand; and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather the wheat into his garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire."* On another occasion John also

* Matt. iii. 11 to 12.

says: "He must increase, but I must decrease."* From these expressions, as well as from others in the New Testament, we are induced to believe that the "one Baptism,"† which now remains necessary to the church of Christ, is that of the Spirit. This, according to the foregoing instructive allegory, cleanses the heart; and as the apostle Peter informs us, does not consist in putting away the filth of the flesh; but in procuring for us "the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ."‡

The practice of Water Baptism is principally defended by the direction given by our Saviour to his disciples, after his resurrection, when he addressed them in this manner: "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."§ &c. But as we differ from most others in the construction of this passage, it will be proper to enter into a particular consideration of it.

It is to be regretted, that Christians have been so habituated to unite Baptism and Water together in their view, that they seem almost to for-

* John iii. 30. † Ephes. iv. 5.
‡ 1 Pet. iii. 21. § Matt. xxviii. 19.

get, that there is a Baptism without Water by the Spirit. There are many passages in scripture, where the words Baptize and Baptism are used in a figurative sense, and in which it is evident no allusion to the use of water is intended. This is peculiarly the case where these words are used by our blessed Lord, who appears never to have used them in reference to Water, except where he expressly so defines the application; unless it can be intended by the passage in Matthew now under consideration; and which we think cannot be proved. There are two instances in which, it is apprehended, all will agree that Water could not be intended; the first is the question put to the sons of Zebedee: "Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of; and be baptized with the Baptism that I am baptized with?"* By these and similar expressions in the succeeding verse, it is evident that Water cannot be understood; and, indeed, it is generally agreed, that both the baptism and the cup allude to a state of deep suffering and affliction. This is also the obvious meaning of the expression in Luke: "I have a Baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished."†

* Mark x. 38. † Luke xii. 50.

From these applications of the words Baptize and Baptism, it appears, that they were at that time frequently used in a figurative manner; and we think ourselves warranted in applying the foregoing passage in Matthew, with another in Mark, chap. xvi. v. 16. to an inward and spiritual Baptism. This construction is much corroborated by rendering the former passage, as the original Greek evidently implies, "Baptizing them *into* the name of the Father," &c. By this expression we apprehend is to be understood, the introducing of the believers into a feeling sense of the power of God in Christ, by the influences of the Holy Spirit; all which the apostles were no doubt frequently made instrumental in producing in the hearts of their hearers. This application of the Word "Name," as symbolical of the Divine power,* is not uncommon in holy writ; and we conceive that no reasonable objection can be made to it. Thus the expressions of our Lord unite with those of the apostle Paul: "So many as were baptized into Christ Jesus, were baptized into his death:"† and again, "As many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ."‡ That these expressions

* See the Concordances of Cruden and Taylor, under the word, "Name."

† Rom. vi. 3. ‡ Gal. iii. 27.

have no allusion to Water Baptism appears to us evident from the context; and particularly from the following expression of the same apostle: "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body;—and have been all made to drink into one Spirit."*

It may be alleged, that the apostles understood the command in Matthew as applying to Water Baptism, and practised it accordingly. That they made use of baptism with water, has been already admitted; but that they did it in consequence of this command, is not easy to prove. But supposing this to have been the case, it appears from various circumstances, that even the apostles were "slow of heart to believe" and understand this command, as well as other scriptures relating to the gospel dispensation: for notwithstanding the express charge to "go and teach all nations," connected with the words in dispute, we find how difficult a matter it was to bring the apostles to this acknowledgment; "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."† Such, it is evident, was their attachment to the Jewish nation and law, that they slowly and gradually relinquished many

* 1 Cor. xii. 13. † Acts xi. 18.

of those ceremonies which were connected with them; and with some difficulty excused the Gentile converts from an adherence to these observances. The apostle Paul was, however, more quickly introduced into the spirituality of the gospel dispensation; and we think it is clear, that he did not understand our Lord's command, Matt. xxviii. 19. as enjoining the practice of Water Baptism; concerning which it is universally agreed, that he was speaking, when he thanked God that he had baptized so very few as he mentions, out of the great numbers converted by him at Corinth to the Christian faith; "For Christ, (says he) sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel."*

It has been argued, that this expression of the apostle is general, and only implies that Baptism was not the principal part of his mission. But we have at least an equal right to consider the words in their common acceptation; and as showing that, however the apostle might occasionally use Water Baptism, as a mode of initiating converts into the Christian church, yet he did not consider it as a part of his commission; and consequently not essential to the Christian religion, nor to the soul's salva-

* 1 Cor. i. 17.

tion. If he had considered it necessary to these important objects, it is difficult to conceive how he could solemnly thank God for the omission of it.

Another argument in favour of Water Baptism is urged from the following query of Peter, on the conversion of Cornelius and his family: "Can any man forbid Water, that these should not be baptized?"* &c. Now it appears very probable from this query, that it was a matter of doubt among the Christians of that time, whether Water Baptism was necessary to be continued; and that Peter on this as well as on some other occasions, inclined to the continuance of a ceremony, at least partly Jewish. How closely even the apostles were attached to the Mosaic law, and how slowly their minds opened to the gospel dispensation, has been already remarked. Notwithstanding the various predictions of the prophets, and the direct command of our Saviour himself after his resurrection, it still required an extraordinary vision from heaven to convince Peter, that "Of a truth God is no respecter of persons; but, in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with

* Acts x. 47.

him."* It was about ten years after this circumstance, that the apostles and elders came together, to consider of the propriety of exempting the Gentile converts from the rite of circumcision; and it was not till after "there had been much disputing," that they concluded not to impose this yoke upon them. Although Peter was present at this conference, and earnestly promoted the decision of it; yet it was, I apprehend, after this time, that the apostle Paul had occasion to blame him for his changeable conduct towards the Gentiles, with respect to some Jewish customs.† From all these circumstances, we may account for Peter's continuing the practice of Water Baptism, as connected with that dispensation under which he had been educated. However, we have reason to believe that his views on this subject enlarged, as his experience in the service of the gospel increased; for we find him several years after, in one of his epistles, describing the Baptism that "doth now save us"‡ in this manner: "Not the putting away the filth of the flesh; but the answer of a good conscience towards

* Acts x. 34 and 35. † Gal. ii. 11, 12, 13.

‡ There appears to be an inaccuracy in our translation of the verse preceding this passage. The "eight souls were saved," not by, but from or through the water; and many

God:"* a description by no means applicable to Water Baptism, which as it was then administered by immersion, did put away the filth of the flesh; and of which we may surely say, as was said of "meats and drinks, and of divers washings," that it "could not make perfect, as pertaining to the conscience;"† they being imposed only until the time of reformation; by which is generally understood the gospel dispensation.

In considering the various arguments on this subject, part of the diversity of sentiment appears to lie in the difficulty there sometimes is, to determine betwixt the literal and the figurative use of words, which relate to it. Even water as well as fire is sometimes used figuratively. To be "born of *water* and the spirit,"‡ has been considered, and we think rightly considered, by [a] some who believed in the propriety of Water Baptism, as figurative an expression, as being baptized "with the Holy Ghost and with

translators render it in this sense. Also the Greek word αντιτυπου, which is translated "figure," might be rendered antitype; a rendering which, in this place, gives a different idea of the meaning of the apostle.

* 1 Peter iii. 21.

† Heb. ix. 9 and 10. ‡ John iii. 5.

[a] Calvin, Grotius, Piscator, &c.

fire;"* and we ought to remember the explanation, which the evangelist himself gives of our Saviour's use of the word Water: "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive."†

It is frequently said, that Water Baptism is appointed in the Christian church as a substitute for Circumcision among the Jews. In answer to this, I would first query, from what part of the New Testament can the appointment of one instead of the other be proved? Can it be supposed, that if our Saviour, or his apostles, had considered it in this point of view, they would have given no intimation of it? I apprehend that not a single text, which will bear such a construction, can be produced. On the contrary, there are very strong arguments to be brought against this supposition, from the epistles of the apostle Paul. He frequently speaks of circumcision as being no longer of religious obligation. If Water Baptism was to have been its substitute, the occasion to mention it was almost necessary and unavoidable. Yet he is not only silent on the subject of Water Baptism, as the substitute of Circumcision; but he even shows what is its substitute. "He is not

* Matt. iii. 11. † John vii. 39.

a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God."* In the epistle to the Galatians, the apostle writes much on the subject of circumcision, but never mentions any other substitute for it, than "Faith which worketh by love," and a "new creature."†

What has been said respecting Water Baptism, is intended to apply to it, as it was originally administered by immersion; and in which manner, I conceive, if it be of religious obligation, it can only be rightly administered. But it is a singular fact, that by far the greater number of the advocates for Water Baptism, and those who are most apt to reflect on us for laying it aside, never practise it themselves; but have substituted for it, the sprinkling of a little water in the face of the person pretended to be baptized; and this they apply to infants more than to adults. Now this I think may, with confidence, be asserted, that Sprinkling is not Baptism; but if it must have a name of Greek

* Rom. ii. 28 and 29. † Gal. v. 6. and vi. 15.

derivation, should be called Rantism. Besides, it is a ceremony, which has neither precept nor example in the Holy Scriptures; the few arguments for it being drawn from equivocal suppositions. For any, therefore, to censure us for the disuse of Water Baptism, who have themselves laid aside the use of it, and substituted something else in its stead, is not a little extraordinary. Which way soever it is administered, it may be an innocent ceremony to those who consider it as a religious duty.

But although the baptizing or sprinkling of Infants may be innocent in itself, there are some circumstances attending its administration, at least by the Church of England, which may be seriously injurious. To say, after a child has passed this ceremony; "We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit; to receive him for thy own child by adoption; and to incorporate him into thy holy church;" is saying what, I think, neither reason nor revelation will support; and if it is seriously believed, must lead those who have passed through this ceremony, when they arrive to years of consideration, to a very mistaken apprehension of their own state.

Another part of this ceremony, and which results from administering it to infants, appears to me to be very objectionable. That which I allude to is, the engagement which those enter into, who become sureties for baptized children. In performing this ceremony, the priest says: "This infant must also faithfully, for his part, promise by you that are his sureties, (until he come of age to take it upon himself,) that he will renounce the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's Holy Word, and obediently keep his commandments. I demand, therefore, Dost thou, in the name of this child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them? Answer, I renounce them all." Now I appeal to those who are well acquainted with this practice, whether they, who thus engage, do really perform their engagement. Does it clearly appear (as it certainly ought to do) that they always intend it when they make it? Is their own conduct such as corresponds with the engagement, into which they have entered? And do they, afterwards, follow up this engagement by means adapted to the end? Or,

is not this solemn covenant, which is attended with the most solemn circumstances, often lightly entered into, and as lightly violated? Let those who are promoting a practice, involving in it a conduct so repugnant both to religion and morality, seriously consider what they are doing; and then I believe they will see this practice in an awful point of view; and not be very censorious on us, for laying aside a ceremony, which we think we have good reason to believe is not an essential part of Christianity; and of which their own practice abundantly convinces us, that the abuse greatly exceeds the use.

We are, however, sensible that the abuse of any thing, in itself good and necessary, is not a sufficient reason for its disuse, nor do we rest our arguments upon it. It is now left to the serious consideration of the reader, whether Water Baptism can be considered as an essential of Christianity, or, whether it may not be regarded as one of those "divers washings," which were only temporarily imposed; and which were gradually to vanish away and cease: "Christ being come, a high Priest of good things to come,—by his own blood, entered

once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us;"* thus, "blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, he took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross."†

After what has been said on the subject of religious ceremonies in general, and on Baptism in particular, it may not be necessary to add much on what is called the Lord's Supper. We admit that a ceremony, under this name, was in use in the primitive church; and most probably arose from the circumstances which occurred, when our blessed Lord ate the last passover with his disciples: but we do not think that, thence, an obligation arises upon Christians in general, to retain this ceremony. It was, like Baptism, derived from a Jewish custom; and when this dispensation was about to be superseded by that of the gospel, it appears (as has already been observed) that this change was gradual, and the former dispensation not wholly laid aside at once. Admitting therefore, as we do, all the circumstances related on this subject; we cannot conceive, that a recommendation by Christ, to his most intimate

* Heb. ix. 11 and 12. † Col. ii. 14.

friends and immediate followers, that in future, when they kept the passover, they should have their dear Lord and Master particularly in remembrance, does constitute an obligation upon all those that should hereafter believe on his name. To desire them to eat that bread and drink that cup in remembrance of him, with this addition, "as oft as ye drink it,"* is, we believe, a very insufficient foundation for the superstructure which has been raised upon it.

It has already been remarked, that the washing of one another's feet was strongly recommended by our blessed Lord; and might with at least equal propriety, be now enjoined as a religious obligation on Christians. It may be remembered, that our Lord, having washed the feet of his disciples, afterwards addressed them in this manner: "Know ye what I have done unto you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and—so I am. If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you."† Can any thing so clear, or so positive, be produced in favour of the Lord's Supper, or even of Water Baptism? Nevertheless, we do

* 1 Cor. xi. 25. † John xiii. 12 to 15.

not hear of this practice, thus plainly enjoined, being recommended at this day, at least by Protestants, as a Christian duty. And why? Because it is considered, as we consider the others, of a local or temporary nature. If a church, or congregation of Christians, can, in one case, dispense with the use of a religious ceremony, it certainly has the same right to do so in another.

The washing of the feet was a mark of humility, as the supper was of love; and where the thing signified is felt and acted upon, the emblem might, in our apprehension, be either used or disused, as Christians may consider most conducive to the real advantage of the church. We believe, however, that retaining these ceremonies has, in general, a tendency to settle the minds of the professors of Christianity in unnecessary forms; and to prevent their aspiring sufficiently after the practice of real and vital Christianity. The importance attached to this ceremony, we conceive, justifies our apprehensions in this respect; and the abuse which frequently attends its administration, must, we think in this case, as in that of Baptism, greatly exceed its use. We doubt not the sincerity and piety, with which this cere-

mony is frequently administered and received; yet we believe, that the true Lord's Supper requires no such elementary mediums as bread and wine for its participation; but that it is the same, and the qualification to receive it the same, as is pointed out by this language to one of the churches: "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me."* The experience of this inward communion, this spiritual participation of the Lord's Supper, is that which we desire to promote among the professors of Christianity; believing with the apostle, "that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost: for he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men."†

Our dissent from the generality of Christians, on the subjects of Water Baptism and the Supper, and our disuse of these and other ceremonies, have, however, brought upon us much censure from some of our fellow Christians, who have even denied us a right to that name, conceiving that we could not be sincere

* Rev. iii. 20. † Rom. xiv. 17 & 18.

believers in Christ. But our disuse of these ceremonies is so far from proceeding from any inferior views of Christianity, that it arises from our very high opinion of it; on which ground we cannot reconcile these external rites to the great objects, and particularly to the spirituality of the gospel dispensation. We believe in Christ Jesus, the Saviour of men; we believe that he "washed us from our sins in his own blood;"* that he is "our passover, who is sacrificed for us;"† and that he has "abolished in his flesh, the enmity, even the law of commandments, contained in ordinances; for through him we have access by one Spirit unto the Father."‡

* Rev. i. 5. † 1 Cor. v. 7.
‡ Ephes. ii. 15 & 18.

CHAP. VII.

ON THE RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF DAYS AND TIMES.

Exemption from censure claimed for their non-observance.—The observance of them disapproved by the Apostle Paul.—More injurious than beneficial to Religion—especially Festivals.—Setting apart one day in the week approved.—On Public Fasts, &c.—Conclusion from Rom. xiv. 5, *&c.*

OUR disuse of the religious observance of Days and Times is generally known, and we trust that, both on this and the preceding subject, we may claim that exemption from censure, which the apostle granted to the church at Colosse: "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ."*

By the law of Moses, many days and times were set apart, for the commemoration of various extraordinary circumstances, and for other

* Col. ii. 16.

considerations connected with that dispensation. Some of these were, for a time, observed by the primitive Christians, especially by the Jewish converts, whose attachment to their law, as is already remarked, not only induced them to retain many of its ceremonies, but also to endeavour to impose them on the Gentile Christians. This the apostle Paul was particularly concerned to break through, and to assert the freedom of the gospel dispensation, from the obligation of these legal observances; and, though he wished the believers not to judge one another, either for observing, or not observing days and times; yet he could not but consider it an unfavourable symptom in the Galatians, that they should, after having laid them aside, return to the observance of them: "How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years: I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain."*

Unless those who are in this practice, can prove some command or injunction for it in the New Testament, of which I know not any, I

* Gal. iv. 9, 10, & 11.

conceive but little more need be said on this subject. If any think the observance tends to promote piety and virtue, we would not judge those who are inclined to make this use of it; but I apprehend it as a fact of too much publick notoriety, not to be acknowledged, that observances of this kind, particularly the festivals, are in general so conducted as to promote dissipation and intemperance, much more than piety and virtue; and, therefore, in every point of view, we think we are well warranted in laying such observances aside.

We however consider the setting apart of one day in seven for cessation from business, and for religious services, no more than a reasonable duty: and we encourage the observance of it among our members. It has been our practice from the commencement of our religious society; and although we do not consider the First, or any day of the week, as possessing a superior degree of holiness; yet we believe considerable advantages to religion and virtue arise, not only from a proper dedication and employment of it, but even from the imperfect observance, with which it is on the whole regarded.

We are also sensible that the duties of humiliation and thanksgiving are frequently incumbent upon us; yet, from the conviction that the qualification to perform these duties should proceed from a higher source than man, we do not consider it right to unite with those who set apart particular times, and adopt set forms, for these purposes. Besides this general reason, the occasion is often such as we can, by no means, join with. When war, or the successes or defeats attendant upon it, are the occasion of public thanksgiving or humiliation, our sentiments on the inconsistency of war with the spirit of Christianity, prevent our uniting in prayer or praises for victories, which involve the destruction of our fellow-creatures; and by which, there is too much reason to fear, many souls are sent unprepared into an awful eternity. By joining on these occasions, we conceive that we should act inconsistently with that peaceable Spirit which our blessed Lord has so strongly inculcated, and which will be more particularly treated of in the following chapter.

After giving these reasons for our dissent on this subject, I shall conclude with the words of

the apostle Paul: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it to the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it."* "Let us not therefore judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way."†

* Rom. xiv. 5, 6. † Ibid. 13.

CHAP. VIII.

ON OATHS AND WAR.

Quotations from Matt. v.—*Oaths unnecessary.—Arguments in favour of them answered.—Arguments in favour of War answered.—The Christian Religion the only remedy for this evil.*

"YE have heard, that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself; but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths: but I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is his footstool—But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil.—Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use and

persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good; and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."*

After reciting these strong and unequivocal injunctions of our Divine Master, I have paused to consider, whether I should say a word more on the subject of them; their own force and perspicuity seeming to require no comment. I shall therefore make none upon them; but after saying that on these, and other similar passages in the scriptures, we ground our testimony against oaths and war, shall proceed to consider the objections that are made to the adoption of precepts so clearly conveyed to us, and the practice of which would be attended with so many benefits to mankind.

With respect to oaths, the apparent necessity of them is so small, and their real injury is so great, by profaning the sacred name, that, it is presumed very few religiously minded people will be disposed to plead in their favour: and, indeed, it appears to me difficult to find an objection of any importance, to laying them wholly aside.

* Matt. v. 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45.

The principal arguments used by those who are disposed to plead for them, must however be considered. One of these is, that the Almighty is sometimes said, in scripture, to make use of an oath. To this it may be answered, that the Almighty could not swear as man swears, there being none greater than himself to whom he could appeal; or to whom he was amenable for the truth of his declaration. Besides which, we apprehend, that what He might do, as Sovereign Lord, may not be proper for us to do as dependent creatures, whose highest perfection is obedience to his will; and this will being expressly revealed to us in this instance by his beloved Son, our obvious duty is to comply with it.

Another argument in favour of swearing before magistrates, is advanced from the circumstance of our Lord's being silent before the high priest, until he adjured him by the living God. That the high priest intended formally to administer a judicial oath to our Saviour, is what, I apprehend, the context will not support. It rather appears, that Caiaphas, being irritated by our Lord's silence, made use of this expression in the violence of his temper, and not in a

judicial capacity; and until the latter can be proved, our Lord's simple reply, "Thou hast said,"* in no degree partakes of the nature of an oath.

A third argument in favour of the use of oaths, is drawn from some expressions of the apostle Paul; as, "God is my witness;"† "I charge thee before God,"‡ &c. These, and other similar expressions, do not, however, appear to constitute an oath; nor would they be admitted as such in a court of judicature. In the beginning of our society, such expressions were sometimes offered to magistrates, instead of an oath, but always refused."§ Besides, if these words of the apostle are to be considered as oaths, they would prove too much, by showing that he used them in private correspondence, or communication; which those who plead for judicial swearing, agree our Lord meant to prohibit by the command, "Swear not at all."

* Matt. xxvi. 64. † Rom. i. 9. ‡ 2 Tim. iv. 1.

§ The first affirmation granted to our society instead of an oath, was a declaration "in the presence of Almighty God." But this not affording universal relief, the legislature afterwards indulged us with the present form of attestation, in which there is no use of the sacred Name.

Some have also argued in favour of judicial swearing, from an allusion to it in the epistle to the Hebrews, chap. vi. 16. But surely the incidental mention of a general practice among "men," is not a sufficient argument for the rectitude of that practice; nor a proof that it was allowed by Christians, who, in comparison with the rest of mankind, were then few in number.

It may perhaps be still argued, that the ends of justice could not be answered without an oath. To this it may be replied, that if the same penalty were annexed to a false affirmation as to a false oath, those whose consciences are not sufficiently tender to preserve them from giving a false affirmation, would find, in the penalty, as much terror from offending against one, as against the other.

It has been alleged by some, that this prohibition of oaths relates only to common conversation; but the context will by no means support this construction, as will appear from the following considerations. First, Profane swearing was prohibited under the law, and it is evident that Christ was forbidding what the

law had allowed. Secondly, Swearing is here contrasted with forswearing or false swearing. Now this being contrary to the law, whether before a magistrate, or in private conversation, the command not to swear at all must be equally extensive. Our construction of the command of Christ is further confirmed by the exhortation of his disciple and apostle James: "Above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven, neither by earth, neither by *any other oath:* but let your yea be yea; and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation."*

Having said what appears to be sufficient on the subject of oaths; we come next to consider the arguments used in defence of war. Of these the principle one is, that it is unavoidable and necessary. In reply to this we say, that so long as mankind are disposed to live under the influence of their passions, and to sacrifice their dearest interests to their avarice, or their ambition, this plea will not be wanting. But let us consider what proofs have been given, that war is really unavoidable. Has any nation fairly made the experiment, and failed? Where is the country that has regulated its conduct by that justice,

* James v. 12.

that liberality, that love, that humility, and that meekness, which Christianity requires, and yet has found war unavoidable? Can we contemplate the characters of the individuals, who have been the rulers of nations, and say, that such have been the dispositions which regulated their public and private conduct; and that still they have not been able to preserve their country from war and bloodshed? Till all this can be clearly proved, the argument from necessity is of no weight.

If, then, it cannot be shown that men, living and acting in a truly Christian spirit, have found war to be necessary and unavoidable, the argument assumed must be considered as destitute of foundation. But, that I may not be thought to reason chimerically, I shall show that a people have existed, who, acting upon these Christian principles, preserved their country from war and bloodshed, even while their neighbours were frequently involved in them. Pennsylvania, it is generally known, was originally the property of one called a Quaker, who filled most of the offices of the government with persons of his own persuasion. Had not the conduct of this people towards their neighbours, both Indians

and Europeans, been recorded by men totally unconnected with the society, my relation might appear partial and interested; but history, impartial history, has transmitted the conduct of this people to posterity in such a manner, as renders it unnecessary for me to say more, than that, so long as they retained their ascendancy in the state, which was about sixty or seventy years, neither internal nor external war was permitted to disturb their peaceful habitations.* We do not say that occasions of difference never occurred: but other means of settling their differences, than those generally resorted to, were pursued; and, if not found successful, submission was wisely preferred to the precarious and violent decision of the sword.

* In corroboration of these circumstances, the following quotation is given from the translation of a Latin Poem, entitled "Descriptio Pennsylvaniæ," and written in 1729, by Thomas Makin, after forty years residence in Pennsylvania:

"On just and fairest terms the land is gained,
"No force of arms has any right obtained.
"'Tis here, without the use of arms, alone,
"The blest inhabitant enjoys his own.
"Here many, to their wish, in peace enjoy
"Their happy Lots, and nothing doth annoy.
"But sad New England's different conduct shows
"What dire effect from injured Indians flows."

See Proud's History of Pennsylvania, p. 211—Note.

Great pains are taken to make a distinction between offensive, and defensive war; and whilst the former is generally reprobated, the latter meets with many advocates. It must, I suppose, be admitted, that in almost every war, both parties profess to act on the principle of defence: and where is the criterion which accurately determines the difference? But supposing an extreme case, and that without any provocation, one man, or one nation, is attacked by another, is there no dependence to be placed on a superintending Providence? and have religion and virtue no resources, but in the arm of flesh? Were our minds brought into a true Christian state, the protection of Divine Providence would be humbly and safely relied upon; so far, at least, as to prevent us from seeking redress, by means destructive of the lives of our fellow-creatures.

Such is the natural state of mankind, that "offences must needs come;" but it ought to be remembered, "that woe is to him, by whom the offence cometh." Were those dispositions recommended by our blessed Lord, cherished by that which considers itself the offended party, it would soon appear, that war is not

so necessary and unavoidable, as is by many imagined.

If sound policy were adopted, it would unite with true Christianity in eradicating this distressing evil. Can any thing in this world compensate for the desolation and misery, which war occasions in the earth? To the loss of life and property, with almost all worldly comforts, let us add the still more important loss, which religion and virtue sustain from a state of war, and from the military life in general: Will it not then be difficult to conceive how men, who really have what they think the good of their country at heart, and who also consider themselves entitled to the denomination of Christians, can promote a practice, which is productive of so many, both natural and moral evils. In contemplating this distressing subject, we find it necessary to have recourse to that Christian charity, which it is our duty to extend to those who differ from us in principle and practice.* I wish, however, for myself and my fellow professors, that we may faithfully maintain our principles on this subject; being at the same time careful to support the doctrine of peace, in the spirit of peace: then we may be made instrumental in promoting the increase of the government of the Son of God, whose introduction into this world was announced by an angel, accompanied with "a multitude of the heavenly host; praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth Peace, Good-will towards men."*

* Our excellent apologist, R. Barclay, manifests the liberality of his mind on this subject, when, after arguing, with his usual ability, in favour of our principle against war, he admits that the practice of non-resistance is the most perfect part of the Christian religion, and makes considerable allowances for those who differ from us on this occasion.—See Prop. xv. close of Sect. 15.

There are a few arguments brought forward in favour of war, from some passages in the New Testament, which it will be proper to consider. Of these, the principal one is, the expression of our Lord to his disciples: "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one."† This passage is generally considered to be of doubtful signification; and some, who do not agree with us in our sentiments on war, consider this expression of our Lord as allegorical.‡ When the disciples replied, "Here are two

* Luke ii. 13 & 14. † See Luke xxii. 36.

‡ See Dr. Edwards on the Stile, &c. of the Scripture, page 126.

swords," he gave this short answer, " It is enough."* This seems to imply that they did not understand his meaning; for if he had intended the external sword, how could two be sufficient for the number of the disciples, and at a time when they were about to be attacked by a multitude, that came out, as against a thief, with swords and staves? But what seems clearly to show, that our Saviour did not intend to recommend the use of the sword in a literal sense, is the circumstance which occurred very soon after he had used the expression under consideration: for we find, that when Peter, on the very same day, made use of a sword in defence of his master, he was reproved by him in this manner: " Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword."† It may also be added, that it was on the same, or the succeeding day, that our Lord said to Pilate, " My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews."‡ Now, when these important and concurring circumstances are considered, can it be supposed, that our Lord intended to recommend to his disciples

* Luke xxii. 38. † Mat. xxvi. 52. ‡ John xviii. 36.

the use of the sword, either in defence of him or themselves, or on any other occasion?

Another circumstance brought forward as an argument in favour of war, is the conversion of Cornelius, a centurion in the Roman army, and no account given of his having relinquished a military life.* As we have not any further account of this pious centurion, than that of his conversion, and the circumstances attending it, no argument of any weight can be drawn from this relation. Some ancient writers inform us, that the primitive Christians did not fight; and we may therefore reasonably suppose, that if the centurion continued firm in his attachment to the Christian religion, he abandoned his military life. At any rate, the silence of the sacred historian cannot, with propriety, be brought forward as an argument in support of war; or as showing it to be consistent with the Christian dispensation.

It is further argued, that the expression of the apostle Paul, who says respecting the ma-

* Acts x. The remarks on this case apply to that of the Centurion mentioned Mat. viii. 5.

gistrate, " He beareth not the sword in vain,"* is an implied acknowledgment of the propriety of using the sword in a military manner. This argument, I conceive, arises from a misapplication of the passage. The sword here alluded to, we have reason to suppose, was only an emblem of civil power. We are informed, that one of the chief magistrates in Rome (and it is to the Romans the apostle uses this expression) had a sword hung up in his court, as an emblem of his power;† and we know that in this country, especially in corporate towns, the chief magistrates have a sword borne before them on particular occasions, as an emblem of office. But if the sword was even used in the punishment of offenders, it would be no fair argument in favour of using it for the purposes of war, and those devastations attendant on this lamentable evil.

These, and such as these, are the arguments advanced by many in support of an evil, which, in its consequences, shocks humanity, destroys morality, weakens the influence of religion, and entails on mankind miseries incalculable and

* Rom. xiii. 4.

† Godwin's Roman Antiquities, p. 164.

indescribable. Were the ingenuity of man as much exercised to put an end to this calamity, as his ambition is to support it, we should soon find the benefits resulting from this disposition. But it is religion, it is the Christian religion, which alone provides an adequate remedy for this malignant disorder; and when mankind are willing to receive it, in the purity, the love, the meekness, and the humility, which its Divine Author inculcated, this, with other similar predictions respecting him, will be fulfilled: " He shall judge among the nations, and work conviction* among many people: and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."†

* See Lowth's Translation of Isaiah.

† Isaiah ii. 4.

CHAP. IX.

ON AMUSEMENTS.

General remarks on them.—Rules respecting them.—On Dancing and Music.—Necessity of properly regulating amusements for youth.—Propriety of avoiding temptation.

THE little benefit, and great injury, which attend most of those enjoyments, that go under the name of amusements, have induced us to bring them into less compass, than the generality of Christians do: not that we are averse to such relaxations from bodily or mental exercise, as become rational beings, and true Christians: but the repugnancy of a great part of those pleasures to religion and virtue, and the avidity with which they are pursued, are causes of sorrow to those who have at heart the real interests, temporal and spiritual, of their fellow-creatures.

There are three rules relating to amusements, by which our conduct should be regulated.

1.—To avoid all those which tend needlessly to oppress and injure any part of the animal

creation. Of this class are cock-fighting and horse-racing: also hunting, &c. when engaged in for diversion and pleasure.

2.—To abstain from such as are connected with a spirit of hazardous enterprize; by which the property and temporal happiness of individuals and families, are often made to depend on the most precarious circumstances; and the gain of one, frequently entails misery on many. Of this class are all games in which property is staked.

3.—To avoid such as expose us to unnecessary temptations, with respect to our virtue; or, which dissipate the mind, so as to render a return to civil and religious duties ungrateful. Of this kind, stage entertainments are peculiarly to be avoided, with various other places of public amusement, which have a tendency to corrupt the heart, or to alienate it from the love and fear of God.

The amusements of dancing and music, we think, also come within this class. It may be alleged, that these might be practised in such a manner, as not to accord with the description

given. Our Society, however, thinks it right to abstain from those amusements; both because of their frequent connection with places and circumstances, which are highly objectionable; and because we conceive they can scarcely be entered into without an improper employment of that time, which we are required not to waste, but to pass in fear, and to redeem.

Were our minds rightly regulated, and our affections set on things above, very little, which is called amusement, would be thought necessary for those who are arrived at mature age. With respect to young people, it peculiarly behooves those who have the care of them, to see that such amusements only be adopted, as may not prove injurious to their religion or virtue; but which may tend to promote their possessing a sound mind in a sound body. Were amusements thus restrained and regulated, great would be the benefit arising from such restrictions; but when we see how ardently many, not only of the youth, but even of those who are considerably advanced in years, rush into dissipating and corrupting pleasures, it is not to be wondered at, that vice and irreligion should prevail to an alarming degree.

We ought ever to retain a sense of our own weakness, and of our aptitude to fall into temptations, when they are presented to us. Were we properly concerned for our own most important interest, that of our immortal souls, this sense would lead us to avoid, and not to run into, temptation. How much those amusements are either evils themselves, or temptations to evil, it cannot be necessary to point out at large to those who exercise serious reflection. How necessary is it, therefore, to attend to the apostolic exhortation: "See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil."*

* Ephes. v. 15, 16.

CHAP. X.

ON DRESS AND ADDRESS.

Our principle for regulating dress.—Scripture passages in support of it.—An objection answered.—Nonconformity to the world to be accompanied with the transformation of the mind.—Our peculiarities of address supported by reason, by propriety, and by religion.—On not taking off the hat.—Custom too much admitted in the conduct of Christians.

ON the first of these subjects, our principle is, to let decency, utility, and simplicity, be our chief guides; and not to conform to the changeable fashions of a vain and fluctuating world; though we may occasionally adopt alterations, which are convenient or useful. This is a principle, the propriety of which, I apprehend, no one will deny; and it is easy to suppose, that such a rule must make those who adopt it, generally singular in their appearance. It is not, however, for the sake of singularity, that we appear different from others; yet we have reason to believe, that even this singularity is not without its use. It is, in some respects,

like a hedge about us; which though it does not make the ground it encloses rich and fruitful, yet frequently prevents those intrusions by which the labour of the husbandman is injured or destroyed.

The conduct which we have adopted in this respect, is supported by many passages in holy writ. "Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind,"* was the advice of the apostle to the Christians, who dwelt at the seat of Roman grandeur and luxury; and at a time, when this grandeur and luxury had perhaps attained to their greatest height. As the female sex has generally been accounted most prone to excesses of this kind, the apostles in writing on this subject, have more particularly addressed their advices to them: thus Paul says, "I will—that women adorn themselves with modest apparel; with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but, which becometh women professing godliness, with good works."† The following is extracted from the apostle Peter's advice to Christian wives: "Whose adorning let it not

* Rom. xii. 2. † 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10.

be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, or of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart in that which is not corruptible; even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price."*

It has been objected to us, that we connect religion too much with dress. This, I conceive, arises from a misapprehension of our principles. We consider simplicity of apparel and a nonconformity to vain fashions, as a moral virtue, in the same manner, though not to the same degree, as we do temperance and sobriety. In these it is possible a man may be very exemplary, and yet be a stranger to true religion: but, because this man wants that which should be the moving spring of all our good actions, and perhaps, in some other parts of conduct, is even deficient in morality, no one, surely, would recommend such a man to lay aside that part of moral conduct, which he is already in the practice of. Thus it is with our apparel. We need not lay aside what is right in one part of our practice, because we are not thought right, or do not think ourselves so, in every thing.

* 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4.

A man's pretension to religion or virtue, should not be estimated from the plainness of his dress and outward appearance, any more than from his possessing some other moral virtues, into which true religion would, no doubt, lead him.

It is however highly important to us, to maintain something more than the form of godliness; and, whilst we avoid a conformity to this world, to be careful to seek after that divine power, which will enable us to comply with the other part of the exhortation: "Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God."* Thus, having our minds and conduct rightly regulated, we shall fulfil another important apostolic injunction: "Let not then your good be evil spoken of."†

In our address also, there are some peculiarities, which it will be proper to explain; as our using the singular number in speaking to a single person; our disuse of the appellations of master, mistress, &c. in a complimentary man-

* Rom. xii. 2. † Ibid. xiv. 16.

ner, to those who do not stand in these relations to us; and our calling the months and days of the week by their numerical names, instead of those which are derived from the heathen deities, &c. From these, and other erroneous and corrupt practices, the Spirit of truth, in which we profess to believe, as guiding into all truth, led our predecessors in religious profession; and, we believe, still leads us, as we faithfully follow it. Our conduct in these respects is so well supported by the practices mentioned in holy writ, as well as by the simplicity and reasonableness of it, that I apprehend no one will deny its propriety, even if they will not allow it to be necessary.

The origin of applying the plural number to an individual, and of giving complimentary titles to one another, will, I suppose, be acknowledged, by those who have traced these things to their source, to have been vanity or pride. Besides this consideration, our practice of using the singular number to a single person, and of calling one another by the proper name, is both more correct and more perspicuous. This is also the case with respect to our names of days and months. Nevertheless, it is not by

reason and propriety alone, that our conduct in these things may be supported; nor are these the grounds of our peculiar practice. Religion, if an attention to the examples and precepts recorded in the holy Scriptures has a claim to the name of religion, also justifies our conduct. It was, no doubt, in allusion to the complimentary, and not to the proper, use of the appellations of Rabbi, Father, and Master, that our Lord prohibited the practice among his followers. Speaking of the disposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, he says, "They love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi."* Then, addressing himself to the multitude and to his disciples, he adds: "But be not ye called of men, Rabbi: for one is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father upon earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ."† The following expressions of Elihu, a pious young man mentioned in the book of Job, are also applicable to our present purpose: "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person;

* Mat. xxiii. 6, 7. † Ib. 8, 9, 10.

neither let me give flattering titles unto man: for I know not to give flattering titles: in so doing, my Maker would soon take me away."*

With respect to the use of the singular number to a single person, it is the uniform practice in the Holy Scriptures; and indeed in all other writings, to a period of time long posterior to that in which the last part of the Scriptures were written. It is not, therefore, to be expected, that any allusion to a contrary practice should be mentioned in them. We think, however, that we may consider our conduct, in this respect, consistent with that "form of sound words,"† recommended by Paul to Timothy.

The giving of the names of heathen deities, &c. to days and months, is not only inconsistent with "the form of sound words" just mentioned; but also contrary to the spirit of the injunction given to the Israelites, as a preservative from contaminating themselves with idolatry: In all things that I have said unto you, be circumspect: and make no mention of the name of other gods; neither let it be heard out of thy

* Job xxxii. 21, 22. † 2 Tim. i. 13.

mouth."*a It may also be remembered, that when the reformation of the Jews was foretold by the prophets, these, amongst other things, were stated as a part: "I will take the name of Baalim out of her mouth,"† "I will turn to the people a pure language;"‡ and "I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered."§

There is another peculiarity in our conduct, on which it may be proper to say a few words. Our refusal to take off the hat, as a mark of respect to man, is generally known. The reason for this is, that it is a token of reverence enjoined and used in our solemn approaches to the Supreme Being, when exercising the religious duties of preaching or prayer. On this account, and not from any disrespect to our

* Exodus xxiii. 13.

a See also Deut xii. 2. Joshua xxiii. 7. Ps. xvi. 4.

† Hosea ii. 17. ‡ Zephaniah iii. 9

§ Zechariah xiii. 2. The following lines are not inapplicable to this subject:

"The Pagan page how far more wise than ours!
They with the gods they worshipped graced their song:
Our song we grace with gods we disbelieve;
Retain the manners, but reject the creed."

Hannah More.

superiors, we think it right not to confound this solemn act of reverence to the Almighty, with the marks of respect to our fellow creatures. True civility and due respect may be better shown by conduct, than by compliment: and we are far from desiring to dismiss those social duties from our attention and regard.

Many are apt to plead general custom, as a sanction to practices, which, were they impartially examined, would be acknowledged to be erroneous and improper: and it is to be regretted, that the professors of Christianity should retain so much that is inconsistent with its purity and simplicity. If these things cannot be styled "the weightier matters of the law,"* and we allow they cannot; yet, we believe, they may be considered, as the externals of religion, and as things which we "ought not to leave undone."

* Mat. xxiii. 23.

CHAP. XI.

ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Peaceableness of our principles a security to Government.— Duties of subjects.— Suffering peaceably submitted to, when active compliance cannot be conscientiously rendered.— Civil and religious liberty valued, and how best defended.

THE peaceableness of our principles, when applied even to enemies, affords a strong security to any government under which we live, that we cannot unite in any practices, with a view either to injure or subvert it. The consideration of this circumstance, attended with a correspondent conduct, has probably been the means of obtaining indulgences for some of our principles, which are contrary to general laws. Several of these principles are such as generally to exclude us from becoming a constituent part of government: what we have therefore to consider are the duties of subjects.

These duties are clearly defined in the New Testament; and under circumstances which render this definition peculiarly strong. When they were enjoined, the primitive Christians

were frequently under persecution; the government at that time was of a kind which is generally considered the worst, and in the hands of the worst of men; nevertheless, we see no encouragement given to any thing like sedition or resistance. On the contrary, the believers in Christ were taught to "be subject unto the higher powers,"* "to obey magistrates,"† and to "submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.—As free and not using liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God."‡ These are the principles on which our Society, as a body, have uniformly acted, as may be seen by the advices given on this subject, in a Book of Extracts from advices of the Yearly Meeting printed in London in the year 1802. From page 19 of this book, the following advice is taken: "We trust we are called to show forth to the world, in life and practice, that the blessed reign of the Messiah, the Prince of Peace, is begun; and we doubt not but it will proceed, till it attain its completion in the earth: when, according to the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah, "nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more." Influenced by these principles, we cannot consistently join with such as form

* Rom. xiii. 1. † Titus iii. 1. ‡ 1 Pet. ii. 13, 16.

combinations of a hostile nature against any; much less in opposition to those placed in sovereign or subordinate authority; nor can we unite with, or encourage, such as revile and asperse them: for it is written, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people."—Yearly Meeting's printed epistle, 1775.

But whilst we think it right to put in practice the advices given to the primitive Christians on this subject, we are, as they were, under circumstances, which sometimes prevent us from actively complying with what the laws of the country require. Nevertheless, we submit to the law, by suffering the peaceable execution of it, in cases in which we cannot actively comply. There are duties which we owe to our consciences and to God, with which human power cannot dispense, and of which it is not a competent judge. The government of conscience is God's prerogative; and when it is neither used as a cloak of maliciousness, nor abused to the disturbance of the public peace, it ought to be fully free. Our Society in this country, though under some circumstances which bear rather hard upon it, has abundant cause for gratitude to the government, for the favours we enjoy; and it is to be hoped, that we shall

always conduct ourselves so as to merit the continuance, and even the extension of them; "being obliged to demean ourselves, not only as a grateful people, but, as a Christian society, to live peaceably and inoffensively under the present government, as we have always done, under the various revolutions of government, ever since we were a people."—Yearly Meeting's written epistle, 1692.

But, notwithstanding our peaceable and submissive principles, in relation to those who are placed in authority over us, we are far from being insensible to the value of civil and religious liberty. When these are violated, we think it right to represent our grievances to those who oppress us, or who have it in their power to afford relief. If this be done in a Christian spirit, and in a language respectfully strong, it would be found, in general, a much more successful, and always a more proper, means of obtaining redress, than any seditious and turbulent proceedings, or those bloody appeals to the sword, to which mankind are too apt to resort, as the relief of oppression, or the gratification of revenge.

CHAP. XII.

ON DISCIPLINE.

The necessity of discipline in religious societies.—Objections to it answered.—Particular objects of our discipline enumerated.—Different meetings in which it is transacted.—Importance of transacting it in a right Spirit.

WHATEVER may be the inducement of any people to form themselves into a separate society, it must be on some principles which they assume, and on the preservation of which their continuance, as a particular society, must, in a great measure, depend. It is also the duty of every society, formed upon religious principles, to support good morals, without which its pretensions to religion are vain. These two considerations render discipline, in a religious society, necessary to its reputable existence; and when they are not attended to, confusion and disgrace must follow. However excellent any of our religious principles may be, we who profess them are all frail and fallible. We are all by nature prone to evil: and if we have

even experienced some degree of redemption from the state of fallen nature, we are still liable, without watchfulness, to fall, or to be drawn aside in principle or practice. Hence we find, in all religious societies, those who are a discredit to their profession; and we are far from considering ourselves free from such disreputable members. But, in order to remedy this evil, as much as possible, we have a discipline established among us, the first object of which is, to labour in gospel love, and by private advice, for the reformation of those who walk disorderly; and if this cannot be effected, and the nature of the case require it, to disown such persons as members of our society. The reasonableness of this discipline appears so evident, that it may seem unnecessary to enter into further arguments in favour of its propriety and utility; yet, as objections are advanced against our practice in this respect, it may be proper to take some notice of them.

The objections commonly advanced against the exercise of discipline are, first, that it lays an unnecessary restraint on private judgment; secondly, that it interferes with that attention to

the dictates of the Spirit, to which we are individually recommended; and thirdly, that the disowning of members is a species of persecution.

The necessity of discipline, for the constitution and support of any religious society, has already been stated, so as, in a great measure, to obviate the first objection. It may, however, be proper to add, that in every society, civil or religious, submission to the regulations of that society is necessary, in order to prevent the licentiousness and confusion, which would follow, if every member acted upon his own ideas, without any external restriction. If this be applicable to society in general, it is particularly so, with regard to those religious societies, which have separated from all others, on account of opinions and practices, that appear to them not consistent with the nature of true religion, or unnecessarily attached to it. How shall a society retain its existence with any degree of propriety, if those who depart from, or disavow its principles, are to remain members of it? And how shall such a society be known to the world, if its members are permitted to profess and act differently, even on subjects which at first formed the foundation of their

union? It has been said, that nothing except immorality and the fundamentals of religion, should be the subjects of discipline. But, if we could be all of one mind on the application of the word immorality, we should find it very difficult to agree on the fundamentals of religion; and the number of persons is, perhaps, not small, who would resolve these fundamentals into a belief of a God, and of the immortality of the soul. We may easily consider, what a strange medley, the liberty contended for, would admit into one society. The Jew, the Christian, the Mahomedan, and the Heathen, with their various subdivisions, might all be blended together in one body; in which we may suppose, if any right zeal for their respective religious sentiments should exist, there would be perpetual jarring and discord. Much more conducive is it to the peace of religious societies, that each should consistently maintain its own principles, and either suffer those who dissent from them, quietly to withdraw; or, after proper labour and waiting for restoration, to disown them as acknowledged members of the society. When this is done, as it ought to be, in a right spirit, it is no violation of true charity, nor of that liberty which all have, no doubt, a right to exercise with respect to private opinion.

The second objection is often urged in a manner, which may tend to mislead, and captivate the unwary; but it proceeds on a supposition, which is by no means admissible, namely, that a body of Christians, united in the belief of certain principles, is more likely to be misled, than some of the individuals constituting that body. It has always been the judgment of our Society, that the establishment of meetings for discipline, was under the same divine influence, which originally formed our predecessors a distinct people. The subjects of the care of these meetings have varied very little from their first institution; and, therefore, for any persons now to pretend, that this discipline is an improper restraint on the leadings of the Spirit, so far as respects them, is to say, in effect, that they are not led by the same Spirit in which the Society professes to believe, and by which it desires ever to be led. "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;"* and the individuals of a religious society must be subject to that society collectively; otherwise anarchy and confusion will ensue: and when it is considered, that in our society, a much greater proportion of its members concur in forming

* 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

its rules, than in any other, there seems no room left for objections like this. They might have a more specious appearance, if the power of making rules and regulations were lodged in a few individuals: though even in this case, they would be destitute of solidity, if the individuals were properly delegated.

The comparison betwixt persecution and the disownment of the members of a religious society, has been often zealously urged by some of the advocates for unrestrained liberty of sentiment. To draw this comparison the stronger with respect to our society, it has been urged, that they who are deprived of membership with us, lose not only the common privileges of membership, but, if reduced to poverty, are deprived of that provision for the support and education of the poor, for which the society is peculiarly distinguished. But this argument, by proving too much, proves nothing: for even these latitudinarians would, I suppose, think it right to disown a member for idolatry or atheism; and yet, on such a one, it would not be proper to inflict what may be termed persecution. But are we, because we make extraordinary provision for our poor, to retain all that

have been members, however they may differ from us in principle or practice? The absurdity of the argument appears to me too great to need further confutation. What is sometimes advanced with respect to degradation of character by disownment, it is apprehended, stands or falls with the former. If the society has, by its general good conduct, obtained such a degree of reputation, that those who are disowned by it, lose part of the good opinion of the public; must it sacrifice that reputation, by retaining in its bosom those who violate its rules, or trample upon its principles: principles, for the support of which, our predecessors in religious profession, were willing to suffer much ignominy; with the loss of property, of liberty, and even of life itself?

Besides a general oversight of the conduct and conversation of our members, there are other objects which obtain attention in our meetings for discipline. One of the most material of these is, the support of the poor: for it has been the practice in our society, from its first establishment, to maintain our own poor, and not give them occasion to apply for the common modes of relief. Notwithstanding this, we think

it right to contribute to the support of the poor who are not of our society, in common with our neighbours; and that, not only in cases where the laws oblige us; but also, when ability is afforded, in those voluntary charities which are established, or occasionally promoted, for the benefit of this part of the community: a class, to the suitable relief and employment of which, much importance is very properly attached.

Another material object in our meetings for discipline, is, due attention to proceedings in relation to marriage; to take care that the parties are clear of other engagements of the same kind; that they are not within disallowed degrees of consanguinity; and that, in case of previous marriage, the rights of former children be properly secured: after which, care is also exercised that the marriage be concluded in a proper and becoming manner.

The register of these marriages; of births and burials; the care of our meeting-houses and burial grounds; the admission of members; the granting and receiving of certificates for those who remove from one district to another; the sufferings of our members on account of

ecclesiastical and military demands,* with divers other matters; are also subjects of our care in these meetings.

The meetings in which these matters are transacted, are called Monthly Meetings, from their being held once in every month. They send representatives, and answer queries relative to the general conduct of their members, to other meetings, which are called Quarterly Meetings; the principal business of which is to superintend Monthly Meetings, and to advise and assist them when occasion may require. These Quarterly Meetings also send representatives, and answer queries to a meeting which is called, the Yearly Meeting. This meeting has a general oversight of the society; and makes rules for its government and welfare.

This description of our meetings for discipline is intended to apply only to the men's meetings: the women also have their Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly meetings, in which they attend to the wants of their own sex, and exer-

* It may be proper here to remove a prevailing impression, that the amount of these sufferings is reimbursed to the sufferers. We not only have no funds for this purpose; but such a practice does not, nor ever did exist in our Society.

cise a care over their conduct; but have no power of dismemberment.

The importance of transacting this discipline in a right spirit, and by those who may be properly qualified, has ever been felt as of no small importance to its right preservation; and many are the advices which have been issued by the Yearly Meeting on this subject. The following, being short and comprehensive, will, I apprehend, afford an instructive description of our concern in this respect: "We tenderly exhort, that in all your meetings for the discipline of the church, you wait in humility, to have your spirits brought into subjection to the Spirit of Christ; that thereby you may be duly qualified for the work and service conducive to the building up of his church; in which work, all who are engaged should be men of upright hearts and clean hands; rightly prepared for the service they undertake." 1748.

CHAP. XIII.

CONCLUSION.

Address to the youth on the remembrance of their Creator.—Reason and Revelation.—The holy Scriptures and Christianity.—On our peculiar principles.—On the necessity of regeneration.—Address to persons not of our religious persuasion.

IN the design and execution of this work, my mind has been much influenced by a desire for the welfare of the youth in our society, and for their instruction in the principles of true religion. To them I feel disposed to address myself in this conclusion.

Let me remind you, my dear friends, of that wise and pious injunction, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth."* Consider his operations in nature and in grace; in providence and in redemption. Although in the consideration of all these, some difficulties, not easily comprehended, may present themselves; yet so much will be opened to the humble and attentive mind, as will excite the love and fear

* Eccles. xii. 1.

of Him, " who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that therein is."* In entering into these considerations, there are two assistants afforded us, by our gracious Creator, Reason and Revelation. The former, as well as the latter, is useful on this occasion. It is a faculty given us by God; and, if rightly exercised, will tend to promote our knowledge of Him, particularly in the works of creation and nature. When not misled by the vanity of the human heart, reason sees and feels its own imperfection; and readily embraces and submits to those advantages, which revelation affords. By revelation, I mean to comprehend both that which is mediate, and that which is immediate. The former is communicated in the Holy Scriptures, in which we have very ample accounts of the being and nature of God; of his manifold works in creation and in providence; of his love to mankind, particularly in the work of redemption by Christ; and in affording the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to guide and direct into all necessary truth. It is by this Spirit, which is called the Spirit of God, and of Christ, as proceeding from the Father and the Son, that immediate revelation is received. This revelation pro-

* Psalm cxlvi. 6.

duces that knowledge of God and of Christ, on which eternal life depends. In this sense, " no man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son; and he to whom the Son will reveal him."* And when it pleases God to reveal his Son in any, and obedience is yielded to the heavenly vision, these then become acquainted with the mysteries of God's kingdom; and are made sensible, that " flesh and blood hath not revealed these things unto them; but their Father which is in Heaven."†

As the holy Scriptures are the blessed means of introducing us to an acquaintance with the way of life and salvation, and of affording as much instruction in our various duties to God, and one to another; I earnestly press on you, my dear young friends, a frequent and serious perusal of them. You will here find much profitable instruction of various kinds: the history is, beyond any other, important and interesting; the mystery " makes wise unto salvation."‡ Here you may see the various dealings of God with his creature man; you may be made acquainted with the dispensation of the law, the predictions of the prophets, the ministration of John, and the most glorious dispen-

* Luke x. 22. † Mat. xvi. 17. ‡ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

sation of the gospel. Beware of such publications as have a tendency to create a disrelish for these sacred writings. Consider what the state of our religious knowledge would have been without them; and look at those parts of the world, which have not had the benefit of the Scriptures; or in which the reading of them has been greatly restrained. When this comparison is fairly made, I believe we shall find abundant cause to be thankful to the God and Father of all our mercies, for the benefit we enjoy, in having free access to those testimonials of his ways and will respecting the children of men. Let them be fairly compared with the various systems of religion in the world; and then, although there should be some difficulties, which may not, at once, be fully comprehended, (and in what science are there not such difficulties?) then will the transcendent excellence of Christianity be felt and acknowledged; and gratitude fill the heart, for the unmerited love of God, in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Having fairly appreciated the general principles of Christianity, those which are peculiar to our religious society, and of which you make profession, will, I believe, rise in your view

with esteem and attachment. Their consistency with the Christian religion has been already shown; and presuming you to be sensible of this consistency, I affectionately entreat you to be faithful in your adherence to them. Attend to that divine light, that saving grace, that good spirit, which is placed in your hearts: this, if attended to, will preserve from the temptations incident to early life; and be your guide and support through the various trials and probations, which now, or hereafter, may be your allotment. Oh! my dear friends, receive this Heavenly Visitant in the way of his coming. Give not up your minds to the pleasures and enjoyments of this world, which will draw away your obedient attention from things which make for true peace, and things by which you may edify one another. Be willing to take up the daily cross; and to bear the yoke of him, who said, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls; for my yoke is easy, and my burden light."*

Let those who have been habituated to sinful or dissipating pleasures, and have afterwards

* Mat. xi. 29, 30.

been brought to taste of the good word of life, and the powers of the world to come; let these say, whether more of the real comforts and enjoyments of life, are not to be experienced in the humility and self-denial of a Christian, than in all the gratifications which sin and folly afford. When we take into consideration the divine peace, which we are told, "passeth all understanding;* and a degree of which is at times the experience of the faithful followers of a crucified Lord, with the comfortable prospects of another and eternal state of existence; there will be found sufficient inducements, in every reasonable point of view, to prefer a life of religion and virtue, above that which is devoted to indulgence in the pursuits of folly, dissipation, and sin.

The same principle of divine light, which led our predecessors out of the vain and sinful pleasures of the world, also let them see the corruptions which had taken place in religious worship and ministry; the inconsistency of war with the gospel dispensation; and the impropriety of divers other matters, in the external deportment of professing Christians. For their testimony on these accounts, and the conduct consequent upon them, they suffered deeply, in an age when

* Phil. iv. 7.

religious liberty was claimed by all, but was given by few or none who came into the possession of power. Read the relations of the patient sufferings, for the cause of truth and the testimony of Jesus, of those who have gone before you;"* and faithfully bear your testimony even in those things that you may be ready to call little. Let not the singularity which a conduct consistent with your principles may produce, discourage you from a faithful adherence to them; but submit to bear that cross, which will crucify you to the world, and the world to you, and redeem you from the various corruptions with which it abounds. The principles and practices of our society are now, in general, so respectfully treated, that the temptation to desert them is much lessened. Prize your privileges; consider how differently our fore-fathers were circumstanced; and let this consideration excite in your minds, increasing faithfulness and dedication to all parts of your religious duty. Follow the example of our blessed Redeemer; remember the reproaches which he endured;

* The Author wishes to turn the attention of the youth to the sufferings of the primitive Christians, and of the early reformers from popery, as well as to those of our own society.

and be willing to take up the cross and despise the shame; then you may become partakers of that crown of righteousness, which is the reward of all who have fought the good fight, and kept the faith, and who love his appearance.

Before I conclude this address, I wish a little further to open the subject of Christian redemption, so far at least as to turn your attention to that work, which the depraved state of human nature renders universally necessary, and in which our Lord thus instructed a ruler among the Jews: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."* Whatever our religious profession, whatever our outward appearance and demeanour may be; all will fail to procure us divine favour and acceptance, if the heart is not renewed after the image of Him that created us. "Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again."† This was the language in which our Saviour repeatedly inculcated this doctrine to Nicodemus; and oh! my dear young friends! neither marvel at it, nor withdraw from it. Examine the state of your own hearts, and the occasion for it will soon be seen and felt. Dwell therefore, I en-

* John iii. 3. † John iii. 7.

treat you, under those divine convictions and influences, by which "the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost,"* are experienced. The work is generally slow and gradual; therefore be not discouraged, if you cannot always perceive its progress: but as you abide patiently under a right exercise of mind, you will find that the work will in time proceed, until the new creation in Christ Jesus unto good works is known. But when this is in measure attained, still watchfulness and prayer should be the companions of every mind. The command to watchfulness is of universal extent: "What I say unto you I say unto all, watch."† Again, "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation."‡ When this disposition of mind is rightly abode in, it preserves from formality in religion; keeps the soul alive to God; and makes living members and bright examples in his church, and among his people. In this state of religious exercise, the experience of the primitive believers is attained; "By one spirit are we baptized into one body;—and made to drink into one spirit;"§ here also right qualifications are received for religious service,

* Titus iii. 5. † Mark xiii. 37. ‡ Mat xxvi. 41.
§ 1 Cor. xii. 13.

and a capacity to fill up the measure of suffering or labour, which may be allotted in the church of Christ: a church, the members of which are thus described by an inspired apostle: "Ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."*

As one of the objects of this publication, is to convey information to persons who are not of our religious persuasion, I request that they would follow the example of the noble Bereans, and "search the scriptures whether those things are so."† It is not probable that we shall all be brought to think alike on these subjects; but if we can see, that so much may be said by those from whom we differ, as to produce an increase of Christian charity, something, and something important, is gained. I am not a favourer of that false charity, which would destroy all religious zeal, and make all professions of religion immaterial. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind;"‡ and having endeavoured to obtain that persuasion from due consideration, let him support it with zeal, tempered with "the meekness of wisdom."

* 1 Peter ii. 5. † Acts xvii. 11. ‡ Rom. xiv. 5.

Thus, notwithstanding the variety of opinions into which the Christian world is divided, the light of the gospel will increase in the earth; and we may together promote the coming of that day, in which the divine promise and prediction will be fulfilled: "From the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place, incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering."* Then will "the kingdoms of this world, become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever."†

* Mal. i. 11. † Rev. xi. 15.

FINIS.

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WITH

PRELIMINARY and OCCASIONAL

OBSERVATIONS.

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PREFACE.

TO promote sincere and solid piety, with sound and pure morality; and, at the same time, to show, how forcibly these most interesting objects are inculcated in the writings which are justly called, the Holy Scriptures; are the views with which the present publication is introduced to its readers. The author is sensible that publications of this nature, by much abler pens than his, have already appeared; but he has not met with any work exactly upon his plan. To collect the principal passages of Scripture on the leading Duties of Religion and Morality; and to intersperse a few remarks and observations, tending to illustrate and enforce the precepts which are taught, and to make them read connectedly, appeared likely to convey instruction of the greatest importance, and at the same time to manifest the excellence of the Bible, as being, in both Testaments, what the Apostle says of the Old, "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."

If there should be any Book on the same plan extant, it is presumed, that to these subjects we can scarcely have our attention too often turned; so that as every new publication may be supposed to attract some readers, it is hoped that a benefit will accrue from being reminded of the important duties which are here recommended; and when we consider that many publications which issue from the press, are calculated to lay waste moral and religious principles, it certainly behooves the friends of Religion and Virtue, not to be backward in using every means which they conceive to be right, for counteracting the effects of those poisonous principles, which a philosophy, "falsely so called," is administering to the depraved taste of too many Readers.

In preparing this work, the author has to acknowledge himself indebted to other publications, and particularly to Gastrell's Christian Institutes; a book, which, though capable of some improvement, is excellently adapted to show, how each religious and moral duty is inculcated in the Holy Scriptures.

The author thinks it proper to state, that his original view in writing this book, was principally for the Members of the religious Society to which he belongs, the people called Quakers: but in prosecuting the work, he was induced to hope, that the benefit arising from it would be more extensive than was at first designed.

In this hope he was strengthened, by apprehending it not necessary to inculcate any precepts or duties, but what are approved by Christians in general, and which are of universal importance.

It may appear to some readers, that considering their importance, the subjects of this volume are too briefly and slightly treated. Brevity has, indeed, been the author's study: but, at the same time, he has endeavoured to avoid a slight and superficial treatment of his subjects. How far he has succeeded, must be left to others to determine. He has reflected, that a small volume, at a moderate price, will be likely to obtain more readers, than a book, the size and price of which are much greater. In addition to this consideration, he apprehends, that subjects treated concisely, if with perspicuity, make a deeper impression on the mind than when they are treated with diffuseness. For these reasons the author is inclined to hope, that the smallness of this volume will rather increase than lessen its utility: and when he considers, how much of it is not his own, but taken from the writings of Divine Inspiration, he trusts that he shall not be liable to the imputation of vanity, for indulging a hope, that it will not fail to convey instruction, important and beneficial to every reader.

In the close contemplation, which the writing of this work has produced, on the various Duties of Religion and Morality, the author has frequently had to feel his own imperfections. He has, however, been careful not to regulate the standard of those duties by his own practice; but faithfully to represent them, as he found them inculcated in Holy Writ. To give precepts superior to example, is a difficulty which, on the present occasion, has not been unfelt: but it may be remembered, that even an apostle wrote, "not as though he had already attained, either were already perfect;" and it seems that we must, though attended with some degree of imperfection, be permitted to "provoke one another to love and to good works," provided the sense of our defects be united with this resolution of the same Apostle: "This one thing I do; forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things that are before, I press towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

PART I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

On the Importance of Religion and Morality.

WHETHER we take our view of the importance of Religion and Morality from theoretical reasoning, or from experimental observation, I believe the result of each will show, that the greatest portion of happiness which the human mind is capable of enjoying, is to be found in the performance of our religious and moral duties; the duties which we owe to God, to ourselves, and to one another. For if we believe (and these observations are written on a supposition, that the reader agrees with the author in believing) that there is a Supreme Being, who by his power and wisdom created, and by his Providence superintends the world, the performance of those duties which we owe to this Divine and Omnipotent Being, may

reasonably be considered as the surest means of obtaining his favour.

The situations of men in this world are exceedingly various: but whatever may be our station, or whatever the degree of prosperity or adversity, which an all-wise Providence may see meet to permit or assign for us, the surest foundation for human happiness, is to have our minds and conduct so regulated, as to afford a humble hope, that, as far as human virtue can go, we may look up to the Divine Being with a degree of holy confidence in his fatherly care and protection; whether we consider that happiness connected with a grateful enjoyment of the blessings which we receive, or with a patient resignation to the Divine will, under the want of some of the comforts of life, which his Providence may have withheld, or taken from us.

Again, when we consider that the regulation and subjection of our passions and natural propensities, tend much more to the comfort of life, than the unrestrained gratification of them; and that the performance of our various relative duties is essential to the enjoyment of those

comforts which arise from a state of society; we shall see great reason to believe, that an all-wise Providence has rendered the performance of our duties essential to the happiness of a being, who is designed to stand pre-eminent over all the works of creation in this lower world.

Let us now turn from theory to observation and experience; and let us first trace the history of nations, as transmitted to us both by sacred and profane writers, but particularly by the former. Here we may see, that as the fear and service of God, and the practice of the moral duties, particularly of justice and mercy, prevailed, such nations were distinguished by the Divine favour and blessing; but where irreligion, vice, and oppression, gained the ascendancy, whatever might be the exalted and powerful state of such a nation, or in whatever degree of favour with the Almighty, these people might have formerly stood, they were either totally annihilated, or in some other manner became singularly marked with a just retribution. But we need not have recourse to ancient times, to discover the lamentable consequences of irreligion and immorality; our own times afford us ample proof, either of the natural effect

of these evils, or of the judgments which they bring upon nations and people; and, if my apprehension is right, the miseries which these evils bring upon mankind, may be considered as often proceeding, both from a natural and a supernatural cause.

If from nations we turn our attention to individuals, we shall find, by accurate observation, that, although virtue and vice do not meet with their full reward in this life, that they whose minds are brought under the influence of religion and virtue, experience, even in this world, a greater share of happiness, than is the lot of those who abandon themselves to a disregard of moral and religious obligations.

But while I am setting forth the advantages which result, even in this probationary state of existence, from a life of piety and virtue, I do not forget, either the inward conflicts, or outward sufferings, which are frequently the lot of the righteous. Such has been the severity of these sufferings, as to draw forth this declaration from one who partook largely of the tribulations of the gospel: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, then are we of all men most miserable."

But although, in one point of view, this was an undoubted truth, yet, even in these extreme cases, the true Christian finds something which outbalances all his sufferings, in those enjoyments of divine peace and comfort, which generally accompany afflictions for the cause of religion and virtue. Thus the same experienced Apostle, who made the foregoing observation, also says: "As the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ." When, therefore, we take into consideration the various circumstances attending the righteous; and compare them with the consequences resulting from irreligion and immorality; I believe we shall find, that, even in this life, generally speaking, the miseries of vice are greater than the trials of virtue; and that the enjoyments which attend a virtuous course of life, far exceed the gratifications resulting from vain and sinful pleasures.

In the foregoing observations I have not extended my views of the beneficial effects which result from religion and virtue, beyond what is experienced in this short and uncertain state of existence; but when, to the consideration of those advantages, we add the reflection, that it

is by the exercise of that faith, and the practice of those works, which the Christian religion requires, that a good foundation is laid against the time to come, and an eternal inheritance secured in that heavenly kingdom, where "there shall be neither sorrow nor pain;" we shall find abundant cause to unite with the Apostle Peter, in that excellent and important testimony which he bore, to the beneficial effects of religion and virtue; for both these, I apprehend, are included in this observation: "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

CHAPTER II.

On Religion as the basis of Morality.

THERE are many in the present day, particularly of those who call themselves philosophers, who strongly recommend the practice of, at least, a considerable part of the moral duties; but do not inculcate any regard for religion, and the duties which it requires. They vainly rely on human reason and strength; and endeavour to build a system of morals, without laying its foundation on those religious motives and considerations, which are by others believed to be essentially necessary, for strengthening the mind in the practice of true virtue. That man is prone to evil, needs only individual observation to prove: and when he can vainly persuade himself that there is no God, to overlook, to reward, or to punish his actions; or if he can make himself believe, that the evils or miseries, which result from the disregard of moral obligations, and from the unrestrained gratification of the passions, terminate with his existence in this world; it will certainly be found, that all other considerations will very seldom be sufficient to preserve him in the practice of that morality, which is essential to our comfort and well being, even in this life.

It was a just observation of a French philosopher and revolutionist,* that "a people without morals may acquire liberty, but without morals they cannot preserve it." Had he, and those with whom he acted, gone a step further, and seen, that true religion is as necessary for the preservation of morality, as morality is for the security of liberty, they would not so completely have made shipwreck, not only of faith and a good conscience; but also of almost every obligation and every comfort, which contributes to the happiness of man in society. Let us, therefore, suffer the harms of others to make us careful, that our vessels may not be lost on the same quicksands. Religion affords the strongest motives for the practice of virtue. It sets before us the Omnipotence and the Omnipresence of the Divine Being; it tells us that He rewards all those who diligently serve him, not only with peace in this world, but also with happiness hereafter; whilst those who neglect their duties to him and their fellow creatures, will, unless they repent, be excluded from the Divine presence, and have their portion assigned them in a state of misery.

Thus much is inculcated by what is called, the religion of nature. The belief of a Divine

* Brissot.

Being, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, though very imperfect and confused, was entertained by persons and nations, who never had the benefit of the Holy Scriptures; and even by some nations in a state of great barbarism. The Christian religion, whilst it gives additional force and illustration to these considerations, so as to bring "life and immortality to light" in a much more clear and conspicuous manner than it was before, gives also a more extensive knowledge of ourselves, and of the necessity of some strength superior to our own, to enable us to perfect holiness in the fear of God. It is by this religion that we become acquainted with the depravity of the human heart; that we are taught the necessity of having it cleansed by the washing of regeneration, and the renewings of the Holy Spirit; that a measure of this Spirit, or, as it is elsewhere called, the grace of God, is given to mankind universally, in order, both to teach and to enable them, "to deny ungodliness and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." The Christian has also the encouraging consideration, that "if he sin, he hath an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous:" that he

may rely on the merits and intercession of this gracious Redeemer and Mediator, for the forgiveness of sins, when, with sincere repentance and amendment of life, he shall make application to Him, "who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."

Here, then, is the basis of morality. Here is that foundation to which our blessed Saviour alluded, when he said; "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him to a wise man who built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock."

CHAPTER III.

On the Love of God, our Neighbour, and Ourselves, as the principle of Religious and Moral Duties.

MUCH has been written, at different times, on the theory of human obligations; but after all, I conceive we cannot resolve this theory or principle into a more simple, or a more comprehensive rule, than the love of God, the love of our neighbour, and the love of ourselves. The last is included in those two commandments, in which our Lord instructed a Jewish lawyer, when he inquired which was the great commandment in the law. The answer was, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment; and the second is like unto it; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." The love of ourselves is not here, or elsewhere, particularly inculcated. It is indeed a duty to which we are all so ready to attend, (though sometimes we mistake our own real interest,) that the inculcation of it is superfluous; and therefore, it being an acknowledged principle of action, it is referred to, as that by which we ought to regulate our conduct one towards another. I do not, however, conceive that we are

required by this precept, to love our neighbour in the same degree, but only in the same manner, as we love ourselves; and so as always to act towards him with justice and tenderness. This is consistent with another most excellent precept inculcated by our blessed Lord: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. For this (he also says) is the law and the prophets." This golden rule, as it has frequently been called, coincides with, and elucidates, the second commandment already mentioned. It confirms the observation, that it is the same kind, rather than the same degree of love, that we entertain for ourselves, which we are required to cherish towards our neighbour. It also shows that love and justice are duties which are nearly allied; and that they seem to flow one into another so imperceptibly, that the exact boundary of each cannot easily be ascertained. Love is a debt which we all owe one to another; and justice requires that our debts should be punctually paid.

The two commandments and the rule of conduct which have been recited, therefore, appear to form a complete theory of religious and moral duties. The love of God; the love of our neighbour, from which perfect justice proceeds; and that which is necessarily implied in the second precept, the proper love of ourselves; are the principles on which mankind ought always to act. They are principles which may be applied to almost every transaction of our lives; and when they are thoroughly understood and acted upon, we shall feel the consolation arising from the consequence of a due attention to them, as described by our blessed Redeemer: "This do, and thou shalt live."

The excellence and importance of love is very instructingly described by the Apostle Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians. It is by our translators rendered Charity, which appears to have formerly been a term synonymous with love, as the same Greek word is sometimes rendered by one, and sometimes by the other, when it is evident that the same thing is meant. In this place it seems to include love both to God and man; and is called, in reference to the different gifts which then existed in the church, "a more excellent way." And when we consider that those gifts were more numerous, and more extraordinary at that time, than they appear to be now, the comparative excellence of this charity, or love, must be increased. The description of this virtue is so interesting and

important, that it may be proper to give it at length. "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, and a tinkling cymbal; and though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself; is not puffed up; doth not behave itself unseemly; seeketh not her own; is not easily provoked; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity; but rejoiceth in the truth: beareth all things; believeth all things; hopeth all things; endureth all things. Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away; for we know in part, and we prophesy in part.—And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity."

CHAPTER IV.

On the Holy Scriptures, as containing the best Precepts for Religious and Moral Duties.

TO show the excellency of the Scriptures, it is not necessary to depreciate the moral writings of those who are called Heathens. That their Morality, as well as their Religion, was very imperfect, and very inferior to that which is recommended in the Bible, it requires no partiality to the latter to evince. Yet we may see much in the writings of the Heathens that claims our assent, and even admiration: they strongly support the observation of the Apostle, that "when the Gentiles which had not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these—show the work of the law written in their hearts." But with a religion, in many of its parts grossly sensual, as well as erroneous in doctrine, their morality must have been very defective; and though we frequently find cause to admire its comparative excellence, under all its disadvantages, yet we must, on an impartial consideration, be sensible of its great imperfection, and inferiority to the morality of the gospel. The Religion which the Scriptures recommend, is very different from that which was taught amongst the Heathens, and absolutely

prohibits many of the enormities of the latter, by which the morals, even of its votaries, must have been greatly corrupted.

If we consider the contents of the Old Testament, we shall there find the portraiture of a Religion, which, though it was united with many ritual observances, inculcated, either directly by its precepts, or indirectly by its typical allusions, purity and integrity of heart and conduct. Even at the time that the legal dispensation was communicated, the religious and moral obligations contained in the Ten Commandments, were imposed; and although, in the course of the following work, most of them will be separately mentioned, yet it may not be improper in this place to present them collectively before the reader.—They are thus briefly introduced: "And God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the House of Bondage." Then the Commandments are delivered in the following order.

I. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."

II. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth:

thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments."

III. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain."

IV. "Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Seventh Day and hallowed it."

V. "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

VI. "Thou shalt not kill,

VII. "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

VIII. "Thou shalt not steal."

IX. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

X. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's."

Here we have a brief view of the excellent morality which was inculcated in the Old Testament; but which was not wholly confined to these particulars, as may be seen in the writings of the prophets, and others of the more ancient inspired penmen: but when we come to the New Testament, we find our Saviour improving upon the precepts contained in the Old, and directly inculcating that purity of heart, humility of mind, holiness of life, benevolence and simplicity of manners, which, springing from the sincere love of God, may be considered as the leading features of the religion of Jesus Christ; and give to its Divine Author a superiority "above every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come."

The following description of the precepts and doctrines contained in the Scriptures, by a religious writer about a century ago, may be properly introduced here, as a brief summary of the objects of these most important writings:* "Here all sorts of men and women, that are under no natural or moral incapacity, may read their duties to God and to one another, in their several stations and relations, wherein the Divine Providence hath placed them. For the Holy Scriptures testify, that we ought to love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves. They shew us what we are to believe concerning God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit; how to order our thoughts, words, and actions; and so to live here, that we may be happy hereafter."

"They testify that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God—that the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the for-

* Richard Claridge. He was one of the People called Quakers; and this quotation may rectify the mistakes of some persons, respecting the sentiments of this Society on the Scriptures.

bearance of God; that he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. [The Scriptures further testify,] that Christ tasted death for every man; was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification; made higher than the Heavens; is set down at the right hand of God; and ever liveth to make intercession for us—that he is the light of the world; and he that followeth him shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life—that the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. [They also testify,] that except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God—that Christ's disciples should be perfect, even as their Father which is in Heaven is perfect—that denying self, taking up the cross, and following him, are the proper characteristics of his disciples—that God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth—that Christ is the substance of all the types and figures under the Levitical Priesthood, being the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. We learn from the Holy Scriptures, that he is not only a sacrifice for sin, but a Saviour from sin, being himself without sin—that none can be saved by his merit who are not sanctified by his Spirit—that the form of

godliness will avail nothing without the power, and the name of Christian will be ineffectual without the nature—that without the grace of Christ we can do nothing acceptable in the sight of God, and by the help and assistance of his grace we may work out our own salvation with fear and trembling. These, and multitudes more of the like heavenly truths, are discoursed of in the Holy Scriptures, which tend to the glory of God and of his Son Christ Jesus; to the purifying, guiding, and perfecting of mankind; and to the fitting and preparing us for the kingdom of God; and therefore they call for our most diligent reading, fervent application, and most exact conformity of heart and life to the truths therein testified."

In these views of the Holy Scriptures, the professors of Christianity are generally united; and therefore, I thought that the religious and moral precepts which I wished to inculcate, could not be drawn from a more universally approved, or from a purer source, than the sacred writings. I have for these reasons, and also to show their excellence, taken extracts from them, as affording the best rules for the different duties here inculcated. A scriptural view of these duties will, I conceive, place

them in a clearer and stronger light, than any that can be taken from all the systems of ethics or metaphysics which exist in the world. However the Bible may be slighted by some persons, yet a fair view of the religious and moral instruction which it contains, compared with that which any other of the religious distinctions of mankind possess, will, it is presumed, decide the superiority clearly in favour of those Scriptures, which we are justly told, are "profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works."

CHAPTER V.

On the Divine Attributes.

BEFORE we enter into a consideration of the duties which we owe to the Divine Being, it will be proper to take notice of the Attributes on which these duties are founded; and by which they become a reasonable service. The Attributes of God are largely set forth in the Holy Scriptures, from which we learn, that "he is the maker, preserver, and governor of all things; that he is a Being every way perfect; the only God, who hath none other like him, and who is greater and more excellent than all other beings: that he is a Spirit, eternal and unchangeable, and fills all places by his presence; that his happiness, knowledge, wisdom, and power, are infinite; that he is perfectly good and gracious; righteous and just; true and faithful; pure and holy; and that after all we know of him, he is incomprehensible."*

In order to show how far this definition is supported by the Holy Scriptures, it will be necessary to give some quotations from these writings, descriptive of the various Attributes of God, as above recited: The following are

* Gastrell's Christian Institutes.

of this nature: "By him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in earth. He is before all things, and by him all things consist. He preserveth and upholdeth all things by his power. In him we live, and move, and have our being. The world is his, and the fulness thereof. The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. He is governor among the nations: the whole earth is full of his glory."

"As for God, his way is perfect: He is a rock: his work is perfect. Thine, O Lord! is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty. Thou art very great: thou art clothed with honour and majesty. The Lord our God is one Lord: he is God in the Heaven above, and in the earth beneath; there is none else. Who is like unto thee, O Lord? who is like thee; glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders? The Lord is great above all Gods; far above all principalities, and powers, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come."

"God is a Spirit; who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see: the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. He filleth all in all. Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord? In his presence is fulness of joy, and at his right hand are pleasures for evermore."

"The Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed. He is mighty in wisdom; he is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working; the only wise God; Almighty, and can do every thing; for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength."

"The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works. God is love; the God of peace, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort. The Lord is righteous, a just God; he loveth righteousness; he is excellent in power, and in judgment, and in plenty of justice; he will not condemn the innocent, nor will he let the guilty go free. Shall not the judge of all the earth do right? He is the God of truth; his counsels of old are faithfulness and

truth; for all his promises are yea and amen for ever."

"The Lord our God is holy; yea, he is glorious in holiness. Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty; who art, and wast, and art to come. Oh! the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For of him, and through him, and to him are all things; to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

PART II.

RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

CHAPTER I.

On Faith and Hope in God.

THE first Duty which we owe to the Divine Being, is Faith; or a belief in the existence of God, in his power, and in his goodness. It is called Faith, because these great and important truths do not admit of that kind of demonstration by which many other truths may be proved: and yet all around us, and all within us, so fully evince the existence, the power, and the goodness, of a Divine Being, that this may be considered a just and reasonable duty. On a subject so much above our comprehension, we must be content, in some degree, to walk by faith, and not by sight. We need not therefore stumble at this first principle of religion, to which our implicit acquiescence is required. "Without faith it is impossible to please God; for he that cometh unto him, must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of all those that diligently seek him." When these principles have their proper influence on the heart, they are of great service to us in our passage

through life; and tend greatly to reconcile our minds to those various circumstances, which are, by an allwise Providence, permitted or dispensed to us. It is by the eye of faith that we see him, who is, to every other eye, invisible; and by this eye of faith we are enabled to look beyond the things which are seen, and are temporal, to those things which are not seen, and are eternal. It was under the influence of this faith, that "Moses chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin; seeing him who is invisible, and having an eye to the recompense of reward."

From faith in the Divine Being and Providence, proceeds that "hope which is as an anchor to the soul, both sure and stedfast." In the storms and tempests attendant on this probationary state of existence, a humble hope and trust in the mercies and providence of God, are essentially necessary to the preservation of the vessel, from being driven on the rocks or quicksands which surround our coast; and on which shipwreck is sometimes made of every thing that renders life valuable, or eternity desirable.

This hope or trust may be divided into two parts; first, as it relates to the providence of God, in reference to the things of this life; and

secondly, as it relates to his mercy in respect to those things which pertain to that life which is to come. With respect to the first, our blessed Lord strengthens his disciples in their confidence in the Divine Providence, by many apt allusions and pressing exhortations: "I say unto you, take no thought (or rather, be not anxious) for your life, what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on.—Behold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them—Consider the lilies how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet I say unto you that Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more will he clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." We have in the prophet Habakkuk an eminent instance of resignation to Divine protection, and of confidence therein. After foreseeing some impending calamities, he expresses himself in this animated and animating language: "Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vine;

the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

It sometimes happens, that religiously disposed minds fall into a state of depression and discouragement, respecting their inward or their future state. This, so far as it excites vigilance and exertion, may be beneficial; but when its tendency is to lead to despair of the mercies of God, and to cast away our confidence in his goodness and loving kindness, it becomes a disposition to which we ought not to give way, but should carefully guard against its attacks. This situation of mind is strongly described by the Psalmist, in the seventy-seventh Psalm: "In the day of my trouble I sought the Lord; my * hand was stretched out in the night and ceased not: my soul refused to be comforted. I remembered God, and was troubled, and my spirit was overwhelmed. Will the Lord cast off for ever? will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? doth his promise fail for evermore? hath God forgotten to be gracious? hath he in anger shut up his tender mercies?" Here the Psalmist seems to recollect his own peculiar weakness, and turns his

* See the marginal reading.

reflections another way. "I said, this is my infirmity; but I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High. I will remember the works of the Lord; surely I will remember thy wonders of old. I will meditate also of all thy works, and talk of thy doings. Thy way, O God! is in the sanctuary; who is so great a God as our God?" In another Psalm, we find the pious David consoling himself in this encouraging soliloquy: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God." Here we see the benefit of attending to that Apostolic exhortation: "Cast not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward."

The following passages point out the necessity and advantages of a proper trust or confidence in God, on all occasions: "Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not unto thy own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths. Commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established. Commit thy way unto him; trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass. Judgment is before him, therefore trust thou in him."

CHAPTER II.

On the Love of God.

WHEN we consider the Attributes which are ascribed to the Divine Being, and the relation in which we stand to him, nothing can be more reasonable, nothing more becoming that relation, than the tribute of Love: it is a disposition of mind which we ought peculiarly to cultivate, as being, in an especial manner, connected both with our duty and happiness. When this feeling predominates in the mind, those religious restraints, which are aptly described by "the yoke of Christ," become easy, and his burden is made light. The ways of righteousness come to be "ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace."

Having, in the preliminary considerations, treated on the subject of love, both as it relates to God and man, it will not be necessary now to enlarge much upon it. This duty is, however, in itself, so important, and the Scriptures afford so many exhortations and inducements to it, that it cannot be passed over here; nor should the cautions against those things which lessen the sense of it upon our minds, be overlooked.

When our Saviour was insidiously asked; "Which is the great commandment of the law?" the reply was, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment." Did we place this duty sufficiently before us, as the most desirable object of our attainment, and frequently examine ourselves respecting it; considering at the same time the many reasonable motives which we have for fulfilling it; we should be likely to witness an increase of this love in our hearts, and feelingly to unite with the expressions of Holy Writ: "I love thy commandments above gold, yea above fine gold. Thy word is very pure, therefore thy servant loveth it. Oh! love the Lord, all ye saints; for the Lord preserveth the faithful, and plentifully rewardeth the proud doer. Let them that love thy name be joyful in thee; for thou, Lord! wilt bless the righteous. Let such as love thy salvation say continually, the Lord be magnified. The Lord preserveth all them that love him."

But of all the inducements to the love of God, there is none so powerful as that which the Apostle mentions. "God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet

sinners, Christ died for us." In the enjoyment of this consoling faith, Christians can say, "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." Such was the prevalence and the establishment of this love in the heart of the Apostle, and some of his fellow believers, that he could confidently declare: "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come; nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The principal proof of our love, arises from our obedience to what we know to be the Divine will concerning us, or his commandments to us. "If ye love me (says our Saviour) keep my commandments." — Consistent with this language, is that of the Apostle John: "This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous."

In order to guard us against the loss of that love, which is so important a part of our duty, the following advices and cautions are given: "Set your affections on things above, and not on

things on the earth; love not the world, neither the things which are in the world: If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him: for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, are not of the Father, but of the world. The world passeth away and the lust thereof: whosoever will be a friend of the world, is the enemy of God; for the friendship of the world is enmity with God." Let not these interesting cautions and observations be forgotten; and then the following salutations of the Apostle may be verified in our experience: "The Lord direct your hearts unto the love of God, and unto the patient waiting for Christ—Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

CHAPTER III.

On the Fear of God.

THE next Duty which we owe to the Divine Being, and which may probably be considered by many as previous to that of Love, is the fear of offending Him. This has been, in all ages, the disposition of the righteous, by which they have been, in a great measure, preserved from falling into those irreligious and immoral practices, which draw down Divine displeasure on men. When we consider the Omnipotence, the Omniscience, and the Justice of God, we shall find abundant cause for cherishing this Fear, accompanied with an awful reverence of Spirit towards him. So forcibly was this duty impressed on the mind of one of the Patriarchs, that the Divine Being was styled, "The Fear of Isaac." Joseph was an eminent example of the beneficial effects of this Fear. He says of himself, "I fear God;" and he gave a striking proof of it, when, under a peculiar temptation, he resisted it with this memorable language: "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?"

When we attend to all the beneficial consequences which are described in Scripture, as the result of this virtue, its importance must forcibly impress our minds, and should stimu-

late us to the attainment of it. "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God," was a precept early given to the Jewish nation, and was added to many of their legal institutions, as an incentive to duty. In the Book of Job, we have a grand description of the inestimable value of true wisdom; which is, after all that is said of it, reduced to this simple, but important point: "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding." Solomon concludes his no less fine description of wisdom in similar words: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and the knowledge of the Holy is understanding." In this description of wisdom, he also says: "The fear of the Lord is to hate evil: pride, and arrogancy, and the evil way, and the froward mouth, do I hate." Again, "By the fear of the Lord, men depart from evil. It is a fountain of life, preserving from the snares of death. By humility and the fear of the Lord, are riches, and honour, and life."

The Psalmist inculcates the Divine fear, in this inviting language: "Come, ye children, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil and do good; seek

peace and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry. The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth." We have many other incitements to this duty in the Scriptures; particularly in the Psalms: "God is greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints, and to be had in reverence of all them that are about him. He is to be feared above all gods. Thou, even thou, O God of Jacob! art to be feared; and who may stand in thy sight, when once thou art angry? But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared. Stand in awe, and sin not. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Let all the earth fear the Lord. Let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him. The Lord reigneth, let the people tremble. He sitteth between the Cherubim, let the earth be moved. Who would not fear thee, O King of Nations! for to thee doth it appertain."

But in the Holy Scriptures, Christians are taught whom they should not fear, as well as whom they should fear. "Ye shall not fear other gods. Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of Heaven;

for the customs of the people are vain. The fear of man bringeth a snare. Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings. I, even I, am he that comforteth you: Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of a man which shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy maker, that hath stretched forth the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth?"

Our blessed Redeemer gave his disciples some particular instructions on this subject: "I say unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear. Fear him, who, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into Hell; yea, I say unto you, fear Him."

Thus we find in every dispensation, the fear of God was a necessary attainment. It formed a prominent part in that message delivered by the Angel, who was seen to "fly in the midst of Heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth; saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgments is come; and worship him that made Heaven and Earth; and the Sea, and the Fountains of Waters."

CHAPTER IV.

On Religious Meditation.

BY Religious Meditation, is meant, that inward retirement of mind from the cares and concerns of this world, in which we may contemplate the works of God, both in creation and redemption; and consider the duties which we owe to him, and one to another.

To have the mind frequently engaged in this manner, is of no small importance to the religious improvement of a Christian. For this purpose, as well as for that of inward retirement and private prayer, some persons set apart particular times of the day; whilst others find it practicable, when they are engaged in their outward employments, inwardly to retire from the world's concerns, secretly to meditate upon the law of the Lord, to wait upon him for the renewal of their spiritual strength, and to pour out their supplications unto him. To prescribe the mode of performing these duties, is not my business; and indeed it is a point in which we cannot well prescribe one for another. That they are duties, important and beneficial, will, no doubt, be generally admitted: and we have reason to believe, that they have been practised by the righteous of all generations. We are

told that Enoch walked with God; and we may reasonably suppose, that this was by secret communion with him, and meditation upon his works and commands.

Of religious meditation, we have an example in the case of Isaac; and from the incidental mention of his "going into the field at eventide to meditate," a presumptive proof, at least, is afforded, that a similar practice was not uncommon with the Patriarchs. To Joshua, the successful leader of the children of Israel into the promised land, this command was given: "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayst observe to do according to all that is written therein; for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success." We have but little left on record in the Scriptures, of the private, religious exercises of those concerning whom they are written, previously to the Book of Psalms. Here we find in the first Psalm, religious meditation represented as a material part of the employment of the man who is styled blessed. "His delight, says the Psalmist, is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night." It was, no doubt, to this duty that the Psalmist alluded, when he gave this

exhortation: "Commune with your own heart upon your bed; and be still." The benefits which result from religious meditation are thus described: "My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness, and my mouth shall praise thee with joyful lips, when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches." Again we find this employment excellently and profitably illustrated, and its benefits under close conflicts strongly described. "I have considered the days of old; the years of ancient times. I call to remembrance my song in the night, and my spirit made diligent search. Will the Lord cast off for ever; and will he be favourable no more?" After various considerations of this kind, the Psalmist concludes in this manner: "Surely I will remember thy wonders of old. I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings. Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary: Who is so great a God as our God?"

But the inspired writers did not confine their meditation, to the law of their God, or to his providential dealings with his people. They saw him, and they adored him, in the works of creation. From these they drew many beautiful similes, and inculcated much important and

humbling instruction. "The Heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech or language where their voice is not heard." Again, "When I consider thy Heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; [I exclaim] What is man that thou art mindful of him; or the son of man that thou visitest him!"

Our duties also afford very copious subjects for our meditation: Thus the Apostle Paul enumerates many particulars of a very comprehensive nature, and recommends them to the contemplation of his favourite Philippians: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on those things." To this exhortation he adds these memorable words: "Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do; and the God of Peace shall be with you."

CHAPTER V.

Watchfulness and waiting upon God.

THESE Duties are intimately connected with each other. Watchfulness is an exercise of the mind, in which we are concerned to guard against the approach and attack of evil on the one hand; and on the other, to be looking for, and ready to receive the communication of Divine good to the soul. The last may be termed waiting upon God. This expression may also be applied to a dependence on the Divine care and bounty, for the supply of our spiritual and temporal wants; and patiently waiting the Lord's time for this supply.

When we consider how we are surrounded in this world by temptations to evil; how much our own propensities incline us to comply with it; and that, in addition to these inducements, there is also an unwearied enemy and evil spirit, who is seeking our destruction; watchfulness will appear to be an indispensable duty. The world, the flesh, and the devil, are all represented in Holy writ as enemies, against which it is necessary to be upon our guard. "The world lieth in wickedness, and its friendship is enmity with God. The flesh lusteth against

the Spirit;" and so powerful is that enemy, who has these weapons to war with against our happiness, that an Apostle formerly gave this important exhortation to the early believers: "Be sober, be vigilant, for your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about, seeking whom he may devour." When these considerations have taken place in our minds, we shall be convinced of the propriety of that universal command, given by our blessed Saviour; "What I say unto you, I say unto all; watch." Again, "Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation." Thus also the Apostles, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith; quit you like men, be strong. Let us watch, and be sober. Be ye sober and watch unto prayer."

The truly humble minded Christian, is frequently brought to feel his own incapacity for every good word and work. He is often made sensible of that important truth, inculcated by his Divine master: "No man can come unto me, except the Father which sent me, draw him." From this sense and feeling, he finds the necessity of patiently waiting upon God, for help and strength in the performance of his religious duties. The benefit of this state of mind is frequently described in Holy Writ, and

its duty strongly enforced: "Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thy heart; wait, I say, on the Lord." Again, "I waited patiently on the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me up also out of a horrible pit, out of the miry clay; and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings; and he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God. Many shall see it and fear, and shall trust in the Lord." Thus does the royal Psalmist describe the beneficial consequences of waiting upon God; and Solomon represents wisdom, no doubt the "wisdom which is from above," speaking in this manner: "Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors."

The prophet Habakkuk appears to have been sensible of the importance of this duty, both for his own particular benefit, and for the fulfilment of his prophetical office: "I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved." In this state of mind he received the Divine communication and commission, to "write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he

may run that readeth it." Thus also we find the Apostles were commanded by their Heavenly Master, previously to their entering on their Apostolical office, "to wait at Jerusalem for the promise of the Father; which, saith he, ye have heard of me."

I shall conclude this subject with the lively description, given by the evangelical prophet, of the benefits arising from this exercise of mind: "Even the youths shall faint and grow weary, and the young men shall utterly fall; but they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint."

CHAPTER VI.

On Prayer.

OF all the Duties which Religion requires, there is not one more clearly obligatory, or more interestingly important, than that of Prayer; by which it is scarcely necessary to say, is meant, the making our requests known to God, for those things of which we stand in need, whether temporal or spiritual. This is a duty which we may be said to owe to ourselves, as well as to God. When we consider our manifold wants, our infirmities, and our dangers, with our incapacity to supply or relieve ourselves; and when we reflect, that the Divine Being alone is capable of affording us that supply and assistance, which are necessary for our present and future well-being; the importance of this duty to ourselves, or for our own benefit, must be obvious. Again, when we consider, that God is the giver of every good and perfect gift; that the earth is his, and the fulness thereof; that in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; these considerations show, that prayer is a duty which we owe to his Omnipotence and Goodness: but, in addition to these reasonable considerations, the commands which are given us in the Holy Scriptures, impose prayer upon us, as being indispensably due to the Almighty.

We have various precepts and examples, respecting this duty, in the Old Testament, all tending to incite us to "lift up our hearts with our hands to God in the Heavens:" but in the New Testament the directions are most full and particular. Our blessed Lord inculcated this duty very forcibly among his disciples; and we are told, that "he spake a parable to them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint." The Apostle Paul is very earnest in his injunctions on this head: "Be careful (or anxious) for nothing; but in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God. Continue in prayer, and watch in the same with thanksgiving. Pray without ceasing. I will therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting: that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for Kings and for those that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God, our Saviour."

But there are some circumstances necessary to be attended to, in order to make our prayers acceptable, and such as will be likely to procure a favourable answer to them. The first

of these is, sincerity of heart, in the abhorrence of sin, and in desires after holiness and purity. Of this the Psalmist appears to have been fully sensible, when he says, "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me." Again, "I will wash my hands in innocency, so will I encompass thy altar, O God!" Solomon also makes a memorable observation on this subject: "He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be an abomination to the Lord." In another place he says, "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord: but the prayer of the upright is his delight." In the answer which the young man who had been blind, made to the cavilling Jews, we have an instructive remark on the qualification for true prayer: "We know that God heareth not sinners; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth." The Apostle John also inculcates a similar doctrine: "Beloved, if our hearts condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God; and whatsoever we ask we receive of him, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight."

The direction and caution which were given by our Saviour on this subject, should also be remembered, in order to avoid that ostentatious

disposition which mars, in the sight of God, all our otherwise good words and works: "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet; and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father, who is in secret; and thy Father who seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly."

Our Lord having thus cautioned his disciples against a desire to be seen and praised of men, proceeds to correct another false apprehension which some had entertained, that they should be heard for their much speaking. Of this notion he exposes the folly; and, in order to exemplify the doctrine which he taught, he gives his disciples a most comprehensive, and at the same time concise, specimen of prayer.

"Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen."

On one part of this excellent prayer our blessed Lord makes a short comment, to show the importance of a disposition of mind, which, through Divine grace, it is in our power, and is certainly our duty, to attain. "If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." Of how great importance is this duty of forgiveness! and, may it not be added, how little is it attended to?

Our approaches to the throne of Divine grace, ought also to be accompanied with a trust in the mediation and intercession of Jesus Christ; to which he himself holds out this, and other encouraging promises: "Verily, verily, I say unto you; whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you." We are also directed to "ask in faith, nothing wavering."

There is another important requisite necessary to be attended to, in the performance of the solemn duty of prayer. This is, the assistance of the Holy Spirit; the necessity of which the Apostle Paul clearly sets forth, when he says, "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered: and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is in the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God." The same Apostle, in another place, describes true prayer in this manner: "Praying always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit; and watching thereunto with all perseverance."

But notwithstanding these requisites for the performance of true prayer, let not any be discouraged from an attention to this important duty from a sense of their own imperfections, or from an apprehension that their minds are not sufficiently under a superior influence to enter upon it. If we are sincerely desirous of being brought into a state of perfect acceptance with our Maker, we may approach him with an humble dependence on the Spirit and mediation of his Son, putting up our prayers unto him, and "watching thereunto with all perseverance." Thus the penitent sinner will meet with that gracious acceptance, which is mercifully held out to him, and the truth of the language of the Psalmist, will be verified in his experience:— "As the Heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that fear Him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath

he removed our transgressions from us. Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him: for he knoweth our frame, he remembereth that we are dust."

Great is the importance of a due attention to the duty on which we are now treating, and to the various circumstances necessary for its acceptable performance. Of this the Psalmist appears to have been deeply sensible, when he preferred this petition to the Divine Being: "Let my prayer come up before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice." For want of a due attention to those circumstances, there is reason to fear, that many at this time may be subject to the same remark, which the Apostle James makes concerning some in his day: "Ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not; ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss; that ye may consume it upon your lusts." On the other hand, we are told by the same Apostle, that "the fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." This, we have good reason to believe, is the Prayer which ascends like incense, before the Throne of God, and of the Lamb.

CHAPTER VII.

On Thanksgiving and Praise.

THANKSGIVING is an expression of our gratitude to the Divine Being, for favours received. Praise may convey a sense of admiration, as well as of gratitude; and is applicable to the power and wisdom, as well as to the goodness of God. Thus the Psalmist: "Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!"

The reasonableness of these duties, and the obligations to perform them, are so self-evident to every considerate mind, that believes in a Divine Being and Providence, that, if we had no injunctions to the practice of them, they would unavoidably become an almost involuntary effusion from every feeling heart. But it is to be regretted that, either from want of consideration, or from want of sensibility, there are among those, who are surrounded with blessings on every hand, many who are inattentive to the favours which they enjoy, or ungrateful for them. Ingratitude to the Divine Being for temporal or spiritual blessings, is a sin which is peculiarly marked by his displeasure. Of this we have a

strong proof in the instance of the Israelites, of whom, after recapitulating the peculiar favours by which they had been distinguished, it is said; "But Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked—then he forsook God who made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation. They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods, they sacrificed unto devils, and not to God.—And when the Lord saw it, he abhorred them, because of the provoking of his sons and of his daughters."

Here we see the idolatry of the Jews described, as the consequence of their ingratitude for the blessings which were conferred upon them; and the Apostle, in describing the depraved state of the heathen world, both in its religion and morality, traces it to the same source: "Because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful: but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; professing to be wise they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man; and to birds, and to four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own

hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves; who changed the truth of God into a lie; and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen." When we consider these lamentable consequences, as the result of unthankfulness and ingratitude, how important is the exhortation of the prophet Jeremiah: "Give glory to the Lord your God, before he cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountain; and while ye look for light, he turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness."

Numerous are the examples, as well as the exhortations, which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and particularly in the book of Psalms, relating to this subject; from which it may be sufficient to extract the following: "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praises unto thy name, O Most High! to show forth thy loving kindness in the morning, and thy faithfulness every night. Let the people praise thee, O God! let all the people praise thee. Bless the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me bless his holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits; who forgiveth all thy iniquities;

who healeth all thy diseases; who redeemeth thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies. Oh! that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

The inspired writers of the New Testament likewise furnish us with many incitements to this duty. Christianity itself was introduced with, "Glory to God in the highest," as an acknowledgment previously necessary to the promotion of "peace on earth, and good will towards men." We find the mother of our Lord pouring out her soul, in a grateful song of praise, which begins with this pious language: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour—for he that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his name." The Apostle Paul very pressingly inculcates an attention to these duties. "In every thing," says he, "give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be ye filled with the Spirit: speaking to yourselves in psalms, and in hymns, and in spiritual songs; singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord; giving thanks

always, for all things, unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. By him, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name."

It is not, however, a formal performance of this duty that will meet with divine approbation. It must, like prayer, be the produce of a humbled and sanctified heart. When this is attained to, thankfulness and praise will frequently become involuntary effusions, and ascend with acceptance before Him, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift; and, as this state of mind is continued in, qualification will finally be experienced to join with that innumerable multitude, mentioned in the Book of Revelations, who "stood before the Throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, saying, Salvation to our God, who sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb:" to which sacred anthem the whole Angelic Host, returned this responsive language: "Amen. Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God, for ever and ever. Amen."

CHAPTER VIII.

On Public Worship, and the Appropriation of one day in the week for this purpose.

THE Public Worship of the Almighty is a special duty of all men, who have opportunity and ability for it. This results from the relation in which we all stand to God, as our Creator, Preserver, and Benefactor. Common benefits demand united thanksgiving and praises. A social acknowledgment of these mercies and blessings, not only becomes us as dependent Beings, but is attended with various advantages. The rich and prosperous, when thus assembled with the poor and afflicted, and acknowledging their dependence on the same great Benefactor, may learn humility, and be led to sentiments of charity towards their fellow-creatures. The children of poverty, and distress, whilst assembled with the opulent, and joining them in solemn worship, may feel that they are all the offspring of one gracious parent; all equally dependent on his bounty and goodness; and from those feelings, they may learn to support, with resignation and hope, that allotment which the Father of Mercies has assigned to them. In the one class, sentiments of pride and contempt for others, are likely to be suppressed; and in the other, envy, discontent, and murmuring, are discouraged. Whatever differences may elsewhere exist among men, in the presence of the Divine Being, "the rich and the poor meet [equally] together; for the Lord is [equally] the maker of them all."

The Holy Scriptures inform us, that this duty had been practised in all ages, by those who had been distinguished for piety and virtue. In early times the sacrifices of animals, or offerings of the fruits of the earth, were the most common mode of publicly acknowledging a dependence on the Divine Being, and were most probably of Divine institution; but when it pleased the Almighty to separate from the rest of mankind a people, whom he distinguished by peculiar precepts and favours, it appears that, in addition to those offerings, they met together for the performance of Divine Worship: "Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary; I am the Lord." This precept points out the institution of a time and place for public worship; and they were both religiously observed by the pious among the Jews; though there is reason to believe they were much neglected by many of another description.

The Psalmist, with that humble piety which peculiarly distinguishes his character, is an emi-

nent instance of public, as well as private devotion: "As for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy, and in thy fear will I worship towards thy holy temple." Again, "We will go into his tabernacle; we will worship at his footstool." And in order that he may perform this service acceptably, he forms an excellent resolution: "I will wash my hands in innocency; so will I compass thy altar, O Lord! That I may publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all thy wondrous works." Nor was it merely as an obligation, that he performed this important duty: "His delight was in the law of the Lord;" and this made the performance of religious worship a grateful, not an irksome, task. "Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thy honour dwelleth. How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts! I was glad when they said unto me, let us go into the house of God,—for a day in thy courts is better than a thousand [elsewhere.] I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than dwell in the tents of wickedness."

Although the Christian dispensation exempted its professors from the ceremonious part of the Jewish law, it did not, by any means, exempt

them from the duty of public worship. We have the examples of our Saviour and his Apostles, in support of this practice. The Apostle Paul is indeed very strenuous in inculcating it: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service:" and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, public worship is thus excellently illustrated and enforced: "Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest, by the blood of Jesus; by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us through the vail, that is to say, his flesh; and having a High-Priest over the House of God; let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith;—not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another: and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching."

The Christian religion has, however, freed its professors from being confined to particular places, for the performance of religious worship. Thus our Saviour taught his disciples: "Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:" and in the memorable conversation, which he held

with the Samaritan woman, he showed that public worship was not to be confined to any particular place; for when she inquired of him, whether Jerusalem, or the mountain of Samaria, was the true place of worship, he set them, and, by consequence, all other particular places, aside, as being exclusively appropriated to this purpose. "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, [exclusively] worship the Father.—But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." Here we see the fulfilling of the evangelical prophecy: "In every place, incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering."

Though no place is exclusively essential to the performance of public worship; yet some place is necessary for "the assembling of ourselves together;" and some time must be peculiarly appropriated to this purpose. Under the Jewish law, and most probably prior to that time, the seventh day of the week was set apart for this service: but when that dispensation was abrogated, the primitive Christians thought proper to alter the time, from the seventh to the first day of the week. Although the ceremonial part of the Jewish sabbath, is not obligatory upon Christians; yet several of the reasons assigned for its institution, apply to us equally with them. Christians in all ages have, therefore, agreed in the appropriation of a seventh day, or one day in the week, to be particularly set apart for public worship, and for other means of religious improvement; as also for a time of relaxation and rest from bodily labour, to those who are subject to it. This indulgence was extended, under the law, to the animal creation, as well as to those persons who were in a state of servitude and bondage: "That thine ox and thine ass may rest; and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed."

The religious observance of one day in the week, is of so much importance to the preservation of piety and virtue; and the neglect of it is so evidently marked with irreligion, and, in general, with immorality, that, however necessary it is to avoid the superstitious observance of it, which our Saviour had occasion to censure, in the time of his personal appearance on earth; yet every reasonable consideration con-

spires to press the practice closely upon us, as affording an opportunity, which many could not otherwise easily obtain, of acquiring religious instruction and improvement; and of publickly performing that worship, which is due unto "Him that made Heaven and Earth, the Seas, and the Fountains of Waters."

The pious Christian does not, however, confine his public devotions to one day in the week. Sensible of the obligation, and feeling the benefit, of a more frequent performance of this religious service, he embraces opportunities, when afforded to him, of attending on publick worship, on some other day, or days, than that which is specially set apart for this purpose: and although this may, in some instances, require him to leave his temporal concerns; and may seem to be attended with some worldly disadvantages; yet the views which he entertains of religious obligations, induce him to follow the example of the good King David, when, on a certain occasion, he made use of this disinterested language: "Neither will I offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord my God, of that which doth cost me nothing."

CHAPTER IX.

On Obedience and Patience.

AFTER treating on the preceding particular duties, it may be proper to take notice of the general duty of Obedience; and to connect with it that of Patience. By Obedience is meant the practical and active part of those duties, which we know to be the Divine will concerning us.

When the mind is impressed with the belief of the power and goodness of God, and brought under the influence of that love and fear which we owe to him, obedience to the manifestations of his will, becomes the necessary result of this impression and influence. But as the operation of these principles is generally slow and gradual, and the Christian traveller has many temptations and difficulties to encounter, before he has reason to believe that "in him verily is the love of God perfected?" it is of importance to know, that simple obedience to the Divine will is an indispensable obligation: "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams: for rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry."

Fear and love are, however, motives which are essential to true obedience. We find them

in the Holy Scriptures used to excite the minds of the people to the service of God, and to an attention to his commands, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and keep his charge and his statutes, and his judgments, and his commandments alway. Ye shall observe to do as the Lord your God hath commanded you: ye shall not turn aside to the right hand, or to the left, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel:—obey my voice, and walk ye in all my ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."

In the New Testament, the importance of obedience to the Divine will and commands, is very strongly enforced. Our blessed Redeemer manifested how little he sought the praise of men, and how much he desired the glory of his Father, and the real good of mankind, when he gave this salutary caution to his hearers: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter the kingdom; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in Heaven." Again he saith: "Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you." And it was the observation of his beloved disciple, "He that doth the will of God abideth for ever."

Besides the particular instructions given by the Apostles of Christ, the general duty of obedience, or keeping the divine commands, is thus enforced: "Not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified. Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your ownselves. This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments; and his commandments are not grievous. Hereby we do know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar; and the truth is not in him. But whoso keepeth his word, in him, verily, is the love of God perfected." When we consider these various testimonies to the importance of the practical part of religion; in which is necessarily involved a belief of its doctrines, because these are likewise Divine commands; we shall see the propriety of that conclusion, to which Solomon, after all his researches, was brought: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man."

Intimately connected with Obedience, is the duty of Patience; by which is understood the bearing with fortitude of mind, and resignation to the Divine will, whatever is permitted to

befall us in this probationary state of existence. Obedience and patience, or to do and suffer the whole will of God, may be said to comprehend the whole of those duties which religion and virtue require. Patience therefore holds an important place among the duties of a Christian. His life is aptly compared to a state of warfare, in which he has not only much to do, but much to bear. He must, in common with other men, submit to many privations and trials; and sometimes his religion will subject him to more; for which, however, it affords an ample compensation. But as this compensation is not always immediate, we are called upon by our faith, our hope, and our love to the Supreme Being, without whose providential attention we are told, not a hair of our heads falleth to the ground, to bear, with holy resignation, whatever he permits to befall us; and, in conformity to those excellent examples which are transmitted to us in Holy writ, to say, when sufferings and trials are our lot: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. Not my will, but thine be done. The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

When our Lord was apprizing his disciples of the afflictions which would befall them, he

gave them this seasonable exhortation: "In your patience possess ye your souls;" and it seems that this exhortation was not in vain; for we afterwards find, when their Lord's predictions were verified, they had so attended to his instruction as to be able to say: "We glory in tribulations; knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us. For which cause we faint not; for though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day: for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things that are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal."

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, gives the following instructive exhortations on this subject: "My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. We have had fathers of our flesh

who corrected us, and we gave them reverence; shall we not much rather be in subjection to the Father of Spirits, and live? For they, verily, for a few days chastened us, for their own pleasure; but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness. Now no chastening, for the present, seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheless, afterward, it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness, unto them who are exercised thereby."

The Apostle James, among other exhortations to the duty of Patience, gives the following: "Take, my brethren, the prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction and patience. Behold! we count them happy who endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that he is very pitiful, and of tender mercy."

As affliction is more or less the lot of humanity, it is of the utmost importance that we endeavour to have our minds fortified by patience, which may be called the strong-hold of religion and virtue. To this end, it may be beneficial to us to consider, how much we enjoy, or may enjoy; and of how little we are

worthy. Humility is the ground-work of patience. It gives light to the mind, and strength to the heart. "But if thou faint (says Solomon) in the day of adversity, thy strength is small." The humble, resigned mind knows, that all things shall work together for good; and in times of affliction is enabled to say with the prophet: "Although the fig-stree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flocks shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord; I will joy in the God of my salvation."

CHAPTER X.

On Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

WHEN we consider the number and extent of our duties to God, on the one hand; and the depravity and frailty of human nature, on the other; we must suppose that the neglect or violation of these duties will, at times, take place, even with those who may make the most early and regular advances in the way of holiness: but with respect to the generality of mankind, this neglect and violation are so prevalent and self-evident, that any attempt to demonstrate them would be superfluous. If therefore, it is, as it ought to be, a matter of concern to us, to live and die in the Divine favour, Repentance, united with amendment of life, becomes a most important duty.

The very first sermons which were preached both by our Saviour, and his forerunner, the Baptist, were on the subject of Repentance; and, in a few energetic expressions they enforced this first principle of the doctrine of Christ: "Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Bring forth fruits meet for repentance." With these precepts was laid, as it

were, the foundation of that religion, with which the world has been blessed through Jesus Christ. Repentance was, no doubt, always a necessary duty, since the transgression of our first parents: but the gospel dispensation being more particularly applied to the depraved state of human nature, this first work of true religion is primarily inculcated. We also find, that when the disciples went forth to preach and to teach, this appears to have been the first and principal part of their mission; for we are told by one of the Evangelists, that "they went out and preached, that men should repent." After the ascension of our Lord, and the pouring forth of the Spirit on the Apostles and Disciples, we find the doctrine of Repentance was preached in this powerful language: "Repent ye, and be converted; that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord; and he shall send Jesus Christ, who before, was preached unto you."

In that excellent relation of his gospel labours, which the Apostle Paul gave to the elders of Ephesus, we may perceive that repentance formed a very prominent part in the doctrines which he taught: "testifying (says he) both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks,

repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ."

The connexion of Repentance with Faith in Christ, forms a peculiar excellence of the gospel dispensation, and to which it is of the utmost importance to attend. How consoling is this consideration! "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." Numerous are the testimonies in holy writ to this gracious design of our merciful Redeemer. The evangelical prophet strongly and clearly speaks of it: "He was wounded for our transgressions; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes are we healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." This passage was opened to the Ethiopian Eunuch, and applied to Christ, by Philip the Evangelist.

The doctrine of Faith in Christ, as the means of reconciliation with God, is forcibly inculcated in the writings of the Apostles. To repeat all that they say on this subject, would be to transcribe a large portion of their Epistles. We are told by our Saviour himself, when some

inquired of him, "What shall we do, that we may work the works of God? This is the work of God, that ye believe on him, whom God hath sent." The importance of this belief, or faith, is thus inculcated by the Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans: "Now the righteousness of God, without the law, is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them that believe, (for there is no difference; for all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God,) being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus; whom God hath set forth, to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God."

The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, largely exemplifies the doctrine of Christian redemption. The eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters are particularly forcible and interesting, in the manner in which this subject is treated; and it will be proper to recite, in this place, some of the pertinent exhortations and observations with which he closes the subject: "Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the Holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and

living way, which he has consecrated for us through the vail, that is to say, his flesh; and having a High-Priest over the House of God; let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith. He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy, under two or three witnesses; of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and done despite to the spirit of grace? for we know him who hath said; Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord: and again, the Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

Seeing then, that our duty and interest are both intimately connected with our possessing faith in Christ; let us embrace it with full purpose of heart, and "hold fast the profession of it without wavering." Yet let us not forget, that "faith without works is dead, being alone; and that we ought, therefore, to "add to our faith, virtue;" and to hold it in conjunction with "a good conscience:" thus may we entertain a well grounded hope, that, when this probationary state shall terminate, we shall "receive the end of our faith, even the salvation of our souls."

PART III.

MORAL DUTIES.

CLASS I. GENERAL DUTIES.

CLASS II. PARTICULAR DUTIES.

GENERAL DUTIES.

CHAPTER I.

Justice.

JUSTICE is a duty of great importance and extent: it consists in giving to all persons their respective rights; and in exercising that veracity and uprightness in all our actions and words, which inspire mutual confidence. This may be considered as a fundamental virtue; for without it social life loses its connexions and its comforts; and indeed can scarcely be said to exist. Without Justice all the other virtues, and particularly those of the benevolent kind, are little, if at all, better than hypocrisy. It is a virtue which even the Heathens strongly inculcated; and in a manner which certainly does them credit."* In the Holy Scriptures, this virtue possesses a very important place; and is recom-

* See in particular Tully's Offices.

mended in a strong and prominent manner. In the sixth chapter of Micah, Justice stands first in that brief, but comprehensive summary of duties, with which the Prophet's inquiries are answered: "He hath showed thee, O man! what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Our blessed Lord, in a few words, at once lays down the rule for this duty, and recommends the practice of it. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."

In treating on this subject, it may be proper to divide it into three heads; viz. Honesty, Veracity, and Sincerity."†

Honesty is intended to apply to our conduct, in those transactions which relate to property; which, in civilized life, and particularly in commercial nations, is a very important duty. Nor is it only a duty; our interest is also involved in it. "Honesty is the best policy," is a proverbial truth which has stood, and will stand, the test of ages.

"Thou shalt not steal," is one of the Ten Commandments, delivered by the Almighty

† For that part of Justice which relates to the duties of Magistrates, see the chapter on Magistrates and Subjects.

Himself, for directing the conduct of his chosen people. This obligation was frequently inculcated and extended by the Jewish Legislator. "Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another." Again, "Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him. Ye shall do no unrighteousness in meteyard, in weight, or in measure, neither deal falsely: False balances are an abomination to the Lord; but a just weight is his delight. Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?" Thus forcibly does the Old Testament inculcate Honesty among men: and in the New Testament the same obligation is equally, though perhaps not so frequently, enjoined: "Let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good. Let no man defraud his brother in any matter, because the Lord is th avenger of all such." Above all, let us remembe this important truth, that "neither thieves no extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God.'

Honesty in our actions can scarcely exist without veracity in our words. The advantages which arise to society and to individuals, from speaking the truth, and from punctuality in all

our promises and engagements, are not easily calculated; and it is to be lamented that men, who would be considered as moral characters, and who, perhaps, would resent the charge of a lie with the challenge of a duel; that such as these should pay little attention to this indispensable moral obligation. Falsehood is an evil which pervades almost all classes of society, to a degree that is really affecting. That such an evil should so much prevail in a Christian country, whose religious code is so express and unequivocal in condemning it, is indeed a subject of astonishment, as well as of sorrow. To enumerate all the passages in Scripture, which apply to this subject, may not be necessary: the few following ones sufficiently indicate the view, in which the vice of lying was held by the Inspirer of the sacred penmen: "Thou shalt not bear false witness. Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord; but they that deal truly are his delight. The getting of treasures by a lying tongue, is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death. Lie not one to another, seeing ye have put off the old man with his deeds. Put away lying, and speak every man truth to his neighbour." These are strong and clear injunctions; and when we add to them the solemn declaration of the final state of this class of sinners,

how awful is the consideration! "All liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death."

Men sometimes think themselves honest in their actions, and true in their words, who yet are deficient in real sincerity and uprightness. Our holy religion, however, requires us to "lay aside all guile and hypocrisies, and all evil speaking." We are told, that the Lord loveth the upright. "Thou, most upright, dost weigh the path of the just." It was a consoling reflection of the primitive believers in Christ, when they could say: "Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity; not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God; we have had our conversation in the world." How desirable a virtue is true sincerity! But the deceiver and the hypocrite are hateful both to God and man. "The hope of the hypocrite shall perish." His hope, both here and hereafter, faileth him: and in that awful day, when final judgment will be passed upon mankind, not only "the sinners in Zion shall be afraid; but fearfulness will surprise the hypocrite."

CHAPTER II.

Love or Charity.

LOVE to our fellow-creatures is a duty which is inculcated, both in the Jewish and the Christian dispensations. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is a precept that is found in both Testaments; but it is in the New Testament that this duty is most particularly enforced; and is extended beyond all former example. It is indeed, as has been already shown the basis of all those duties which we owe one another: and where this principle prevails in the heart, other moral precepts are, in a great measure, superseded. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore Love is the fulfilling of the law." Again, "Love one another with a pure heart fervently." Here is an essential circumstance attached to this virtue; a pure heart. The heart of man, in its natural and corrupt state, either rejects this Divine principle of action, or mixes with it so much of its own corruption, as to produce a false or mistaken charity, which is frequently destructive of those virtues that true Love is intended to promote. But it must by no means be rejected, because it is abused. When our love one to another proceeds from, and is united with, the love

which we owe to the Divine Being, it forms, without exception, the brightest jewel in the crown of a Christian. The description which the Apostle Paul gives of it, has already been cited; and so much said on the subject in general, that it may now be sufficient to treat on its effects; or those particular virtues which result from it.

1. MERCY and COMPASSION may be considered as the first fruits of love. The former is a duty which applies principally to the conduct of superiors towards inferiors, whilst the latter extends equally to all the relations of life, when in a state of affliction or trial. These duties are forcibly enjoined upon us in Holy Writ: "Thus speaketh the Lord of Hosts: Show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, nor the strangers, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart. Be ye merciful as your father also is merciful. Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous. Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction; and to keep himself un-

spotted from the world. Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep." Thus do the Holy Scriptures inculcate these amiable virtues; and indeed they are virtues, which from various considerations, it highly becomes us to exercise towards each other. Let us ever bear in mind this desirable benediction: "Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy."

2. The virtues on which we have just been treating, are nearly allied to that CANDOUR in judging one another, which forms a very prominent part in the Christian religion. It is what is frequently distinguished, in common conversation, by the name of Charity; but properly speaking, it is only one of the fruits of what is called Charity in the Scriptures. It is, however, a fruit of no small importance, which we should all be found producing in our conduct: and when it is considered, how quickly we can all feel, when we are treated without candour, or charity, it seems peculiarly proper, that all should give what all are desirous to receive. How forcible and argumentative is the commandment of our blessed Lord, on this subject: "Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with what judgment ye judge, ye

shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again. And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam which is in thy own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thy own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

It is indeed, affecting to observe, with what keenness and asperity persons often censure the failings of others, with whose faults, if a fair comparison were made, their own would appear as the beam to the mote; and it may be not unfrequently observed, how freely some persons censure failings or vices in others, to which they themselves are peculiary prone.

The Apostle Paul makes some excellent observations in his Epistle to the Romans, on the failing of which we are now treating: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God; let us not therefore judge one another any more." Thus does the Christian reli-

gion recommended liberality of sentiment, whilst it guards against having fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, and even commands to reprove them. It is, indeed, necessary, whilst we cherish those tender dispositions of mind, to take heed, that we "touch not the unclean thing; nor give encouragement to others, in principles or practices inconsistent with the pure gospel of Christ." In these cases, it is proper to attend to this precept: "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you; I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." But even, when an attention to this precept is necessary, we ought not to forget another command: "Let all your things be done with Charity."

The following observations on the subject of Candour, by a late writer,* are at once, so just and liberal, that it is apprehended they may be suitably introduced here: "True candour is altogether different from that guarded, inoffensive language, and that studied openness of behaviour, which we so frequently meet with among men of the world.—Smiling, very often, is the aspect, and smooth are the words, of those

* Dr. Blair.

who inwardly are the most ready to think evil of others. That Candour which is a Christian virtue, consists not in fairness of speech, but in fairness of heart. It may want the blandishment of external courtesy, but supplies its place with humane, and generous liberality of sentiment. Its manners are unaffected, and its professions cordial. Exempt, on the one hand, from the dark jealousy of a suspicious mind, it is no less removed, on the other, from that easy credulity which is imposed on by every specious pretence. It is perfectly consistent with extensive knowledge of the world, and with due attention to our own safety. In that various intercourse, which we are obliged to carry on with persons of every different character, suspicion, to a certain degree, is a necessary guard. It is only when it exceeds the bounds of prudent caution, that it degenerates into vice. There is a proper mean between undistinguishing credulity and universal jealousy, which a sound understanding discerns, and which the Man of Candour studies to preserve."

"He makes allowance for the mixture of evil with good, which is to be found in every human character. Under the influence of personal resentment, he can be just to the merit of an

enemy. He never lends an open ear to those defamatory reports, and dark suggestions, which, among the tribes of the censorious, circulate with so much rapidity, and meet with such ready acceptance. As long as an action can be ascribed to different motives, he holds it as no mark of sagacity to impute it always to the worst. When he must condemn, he condemns with regret; and without those aggravations which the severity of others adds to the crime. He listens calmly to the apology of the offender, and readily admits every extenuating circumstance which equity can suggest. How much soever he may blame the principles of any sect or party, he never confounds under one general censure, all who belong to that party. He charges them not with such consequences of their tenets as they refuse or disavow. He commiserates human frailty; and judges of others according to the principles by which he would think it reasonable that they should judge of him. In a word, he views men and actions in the clear sunshine of charity and good-nature; and not in that dark and sullen shade which jealousy and party spirit throw over all characters."

But it is not only in our sentiments and remarks on each other, that candour and liberality

of mind manifest themselves; they also produce a generosity of conduct in the different transactions and relations which occur between man and man. Of this we have a striking example in the conduct of Abram towards his kinsman Lot, at a time when the land was not sufficient for their mutual accommodation, and a strife arose between their herdmen on this account. Then it was that "Abram said unto Lot, let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, nor between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." How amiable, how liberal, how replete with brotherly kindness, was the conduct of Abram on this occasion! Were a similar disposition cherished under similar circumstances, how would it lessen the feuds and discords which arise amongst men! and how would peace and harmony exist, where envying and strife, with their long train of malevolent attendants, predominate, to the disgrace of human nature, and of that holy religion, of which many who practise these things are making profession! But whatever reflections may be cast on Christianity from the

existence of these evils among its professors, this religion is perfectly clear of them. The precepts of its Divine Author, and of its early promulgators, supported by their examples, bear a uniform testimony against that narrow selfish policy, which so much prevails among those who are called Christians, and which is in direct violation of these Apostolic injunctions: "Let all your things be done with charity. By love serve one another; for all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another."

3. ALMSGIVING or administering to the wants of the poor, is another of the effects of that love which we owe to each other. It is a duty, which, among Christians, is universally acknowledged, as being incumbent on those whom Providence has blessed with circumstances adapted to it; yet it appears not to have much engaged the attention of heathen moralists. The Bible, however, contains so many advices and directions on this head, as must tend to exalt the religion which it recommends, in the view of every impartial observer. The Mosaic law gives several excellent precepts on this subject, of which it may be sufficient to recite the following: "If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren, within any of thy gates in thy land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother. Thou shalt surely give him; and thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him, because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thy hand unto: for the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command thee, saying, thou shalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land." How full, how liberal, how promotive of the benevolent affections, is this Divine command!

It seems to have afforded Job no small consolation in his afflictions, that he had, when in prosperity, carefully attended to the state of the poor. The forcible language in which he repels the insinuations of his mistaken friends, shows the high estimation in which he held this virtue: "If I have withheld the poor from their desire, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail; or have eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless hath not eaten thereof; (for

from my youth he was brought up with me as with a father, and I have guided her from my mother's womb;) if I have seen any perish for want of clothing, or any poor without covering; if his loins have not blessed me, and if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep; if I have lifted up my hand against the fatherless when I saw my help in the gate; then let my arm fall from my shoulder blade, and my arm be broken from the bone; for destruction from God was a terror to me, and by reason of his highness I could not endure." In the book of Psalms, we find great importance attached to this duty: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing; thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness." Solomon also, among his many wise proverbs, strongly inculcates this benevolent virtue: "He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker; but he that honoureth Him hath mercy on the poor. He that hath a bountiful eye shall be blessed; for he giveth of his bread to the poor. He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given, will he pay him again."

The neglect of this duty formed a frequent subject of complaint against the Jews, by the

prophets who were sent unto them. Isaiah, in expostulating with that people, for the insincere manner in which they observed their religious fasts, shows them what are the essential attendants of a true fast; among which he points out the discharge of the duty on which we are now treating: "Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out, into thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh." And a little after he says: "If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking vanity; and if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day."

It seems that the Jews, after the captivity, and their restoration to their own land, had so far attended to the remonstrances and instruction of their prophets, that almsgiving was become a popular virtue: yet it appears that many performed it in such a manner as to indicate that their motive was not pure benevolence: but that they were seeking the praise of men, and preferring it to the praise of God. Thus we find that the first notice which our blessed

Lord takes of this duty, was, to caution those who were in the practice of it, against that vain-glorious disposition with which they dispensed their alms: "Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them." Here it should be observed, that the prohibition is not absolute against performing charitable actions, so that they will be publickly known; for this, in some cases, is not only unavoidable, but may be also proper, in order to let our lights shine before men, and our examples become beneficial to others; but the prohibition lies against the motive, "that they may be seen of men;" for where this disposition prevails, the consequence is serious and lamentable: "Ye have no reward of your Father who is in heaven."

But whilst our Saviour gave this salutary caution, with respect to the performance of acts of charity, he was not negligent in promoting an attention to this duty. He alludes to it on various occasions, besides giving these positive injunctions: "Give alms of such things as ye have. When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind." Thus did our Lord inculcate a regard for the poor and the distressed, whilst he checked that ostentatious disposition, which seems to have

been, at least, as prevalent at that day, as at the present time."

The apostles seldom omitted inculcating this virtue, either directly or indirectly, in their epistles to the early Christians: "To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. He who soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly; and he who soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully. Every man, as he hath purposed in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver. If a brother or a sister be naked and destitute of daily food; and one of you say unto him, Depart in peace, be warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit? Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

We shall conclude this subject with the following direction of the Apostle Paul to Timothy: "Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good,

that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life."

4. PEACEABLENESS is another disposition which flows from that principle of Love, which the Christian religion enjoins. The enjoyment of secret peace is not the only fruit of righteousness; it also produces a peaceable disposition of mind and conduct towards others: "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." We find that this subject formed a material part of that angelic song, with which the gospel of Christ was introduced into the world: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will unto men." Consistently with this language, our blessed Redeemer frequently inculcated dispositions of mind, which tend to promote those great and important objects. In his most excellent sermon on the Mount, the peace-makers are particularly marked with his Divine benediction: "Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God." Indeed every virtue, recommended in the beatitudes, tends to promote "Peace on earth, and good will to men." If our Lord has said, "I am not come to send peace on earth, but a

sword;" it was not because his holy religion was incompatible with peace; but because he foresaw the violence and persecution which would be excited against it, by men, whose views and dispositions were opposed to the pure and peaceable spirit of the gospel.

In the Epistles of the Apostles, a peaceable disposition is strongly inculcated among the primitive Christians: "Be at peace among yourselves. Study to be quiet and do your own business. As much as in you lieth, live peaceably with all men. Follow peace with all men; and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. Be ye all of one mind, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Thus does our holy religion inculcate a peaceable and peace-making spirit; and we should remember, that "He who soweth discord among brethren," is classed by the wise King Solomon among those whom "the Lord hateth. Let us, therefore, follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith we may edify one another."

5. FORGIVENESS of Injuries is intimately connected with a peaceable disposition, and is indeed its inseparable companion. When we consider how great importance is attached to

this duty by our blessed Redeemer, and how much our present and our future happiness depend upon it, it is wonderful, that so little of the practice of it should be found among professing Christians of all denominations. We seem, in general, readily to find some salvo, some circumstance or other, which does not make the doctrine of forgiveness applicable to our case. We perhaps say, and even make ourselves believe, that we forgive, when our conduct indicates to others the very reverse. But it is of the greatest importance that we should not deceive ourselves on this subject, if what our Saviour has said be, as doubtless it is, true and certain: "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses." What an awful consideration is this! and how can we trifle with, and seek to deceive ourselves, on a subject in which so much is at stake!

This duty is scarcely mentioned by heathen moralists; and we do not find much said respecting it in the Old Testament. When that book was written, the dispensation of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, the law of retaliation, was in force. It was, however, a virtue which even then, at times, manifested

itself, and was occasionally inculcated. The example of David in his conduct towards Nabal, after the forcible, and even sublime, expostulation of Abigail, together with his own generous disposition towards Saul, his violent persecutor, shows that this virtue had considerable place in his heart, and indeed exhibits the royal prophet in an amiable point of view. His imprecations upon his enemies, which appear in the Book of Psalms, may be considered rather in a prophetic light, than as his praying for their ruin and destruction. This idea is favoured by an alteration in the translation, of which the Hebrew is capable, the imperative mood and the future tense being often used in Hebrew for each other. But if even this should not be admitted, it ought to be considered that David was by no means forward in revenging himself. His mind appears to have been strongly impressed with this Divine declaration: "To me belongeth vengeance and recompense." He was therefore particularly cautious, on many occasions, of becoming his own avenger, and left his enemies to Divine retribution. When we consider the dispensation under which he lived, and the power which he possessed, we may see much to admire in that part of his disposition, which a slight consideration may have led some to think was exceptionable.

Solomon, who was peaceable as well as wise, gives us a few precepts, inculcating the duty of forgiveness. "The discretion of a man deferreth his anger; and it is his glory to pass over a transgression. Say not, I will do so to him as he hath done to me. I will render to the man according to his work." And again, "Say not thou, I will recompense evil; but wait on the Lord, and he shall save thee."

But, after all, it must be acknowledged, that this is a virtue which gives Christianity a distinguishing pre-eminence above every other religion. It is not indeed a mere affectation of forgiveness, which the religion of Christ requires: this religion goes to the heart; it requires us even to "love our enemies; to bless them that curse us; to do good to them that hate us; and to pray for them that despitefully use and persecute us;" and for all this cogent reason, "that we may be the children of our Father, who is in Heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good; and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

When Peter inquired of his Lord, "How often shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? [Shall I do it] until seven times?

Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, till seven times, but till seventy times seven;" intimating, what all must, on consideration, allow to be reasonable, that our forgiveness of others should be in some proportion to those mercies, which we receive from the fountain of Divine love and mercy; and these, we cannot but acknowledge are innumerable.

In that excellent model of prayer, which our blessed Lord gave to his disciples, we are taught to ask the forgiveness of our trespasses, in the same proportion "as we forgive those who trespass against us." In another place it is shown, that forgiveness is an essential qualification, for presenting our prayers at the footstool of Divine grace, with acceptance: "When ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have ought against any; that your Father also, who is in Heaven, may forgive you your trespasses: but if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father, who is in Heaven, forgive your trespasses."

The Apostles were careful to recommend the practice of this duty, and those virtues which are intimately connected with it, to the Christian churches: "Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you.

See that ye render to no man evil for evil, but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves and to all men. Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any: even as Christ forgave you, so do ye."

6. HOSPITALITY is another virtue which arises from brotherly love. It consists in the entertainment of strangers, or those who are not of our own family. The state of the civilized world, is, at present, such as to preclude the promiscuous and unrestrained exercise of it. It is, however, a duty, from which a benevolent mind, when in suitable circumstances, cannot discharge itself; and when the performance of it is accompanied with temperance and sobriety, it may afford both pleasure and profit. This virtue is recommended to us, both by example and precept, in the Holy Scriptures. Abraham and Lot afford two instances of the exercise of this duty, with various circumstances attending it, which give us a high opinion of the simplicity and liberality of their characters, as well as of the times in which

they lived. From these two examples, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews recommends the practice of this virtue to the primitive Christians: "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares." To be "given to Hospitality," is one of those duties which the Apostle Paul recommends to the Romans; and among the qualifications, which the same Apostle points out as necessary for a Bishop or Overseer in the Christian Church, it is required that he be "a lover of Hospitality." The Apostle Peter likewise recommends this virtue in simple, but forcible language. "Use Hospitality one to another without grudging." And our blessed Lord recommends it, particularly towards those whom he is pleased to send forth as Ministers of his gospel. "He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me. He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man, in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whosoever shall give unto these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall not go without his reward."

7. FRIENDSHIP is another production of true love; but it is an enjoyment rather than a duty. It implies a mutual attachment between individuals, by which they prefer one another to others of their acquaintance. We have a fine instance of this mutual regard, transmitted to us in the Holy Scriptures. David and Jonathan afford an example of as close an attachment, and disinterested friendship, as any that we have recorded in ancient or modern history. Passing over the various instances of their friendship which are particularized, I shall only recite that part of David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan after their death, which relates to the latter; and to heighten our ideas of the strength of the attachment, it should be remembered that David and Jonathan were, in effect, rivals for a crown. "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women."

There are some pertinent observations made by Solomon on the subject of Friendship: "A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity. There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother. Make no friendship with an angry man, and with a furious man

thou shalt not go." Much, indeed, depends on the choice of our friends; but it may be sufficient to observe, that if religion and virtue be not the basis, or, at least, the companions of friendship, it is deficient in its most beneficial constituents; and, instead of being an advantage, will be an injury to us. "The friendship of the world is enmity with God."

In the New Testament, we have but little which applies to this subject; for, as is already remarked, friendship is not so much a duty as an enjoyment: but when we consider the dispositions of mind which are there recommended, we shall find, that the Christian religion is particularly favourable to those attachments which constitute true friendship. Even our blessed Redeemer, though he was "the Saviour of all men," manifested the partiality of his affection to the Apostle John, who is styled, "the Disciple whom Jesus loved:" and it may be remembered, that Lazarus and his sisters, were distinguished by such peculiar marks of our Lord's friendship, as produced this observation from one of the Evangelists: "Now Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus."

CHAPTER III.

Humility.

AFTER treating on the various effects of Christian Charity, it may be proper next to notice the very important virtue, Humility.

This virtue consists in not thinking of ourselves more highly than we ought to think; and in having such a moderate opinion of our own attainments, with a proper sense of our own imperfections, as becomes beings dependent upon a higher power for every possession, and for every quality that can make us truly great or good. It also requires that this opinion should manifest itself by resignation to the Divine will, and by condescension to our fellow-creatures. These dispositions every considerate mind must allow to be highly proper and necessary. "Who maketh thee to differ from another; and what hast thou, that thou didst not receive? Now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" Here we have an incontrovertible argument for the necessity of this virtue; and when we consider who it was that said, "I am meek and lowly in heart," it can surely be no degradation

to any of our characters, to endeavour to "walk, even as He (the Son of God) walked."

The advantages arising from Humility are almost incalculable, whether we consider its consequences in producing comfort to our own minds, in promoting the happiness of our various connexions in life, or in procuring for us the favour of that Divine Being, who has repeatedly declared, that the humble are the peculiar objects of his fatherly care and regard. There is, indeed, abundant reason to believe, that Humility contributes more than any other virtue, to make us comfortable to ourselves, "acceptable to God, and approved of men."

A humble disposition of mind is both a religious and a moral duty; a virtue which should be exercised both towards God and man: but there are many who can, perhaps very feelingly, humble themselves before their Creator, who yet cannot exercise this virtue towards their fellow-creatures; and whose Humility, for that reason, is very imperfect. Although this virtue is of so great importance, we do not find it recommended in any ancient book of morals except the Bible. Heathen morality entirely dismissed it from the catalogue of virtues; but

it is worthy of observation, that there are more texts placed under this head, in conjunction with its opposite, Pride, by those who have selected passages from the Bible on the duties of men, than under almost any other duty.

A French writer* makes the following observations on this virtue: "Humility is commonly said to be the particular and distinctive virtue of a Christian. The Heathens knew nothing of it; the Jews rarely practised it. There are many Christians who, in that, are like the Heathens; but more who are like the Jews. If Humility makes the distinction of the Christian Religion, we may say, that there is no virtue more rare in Christianity than that by which it is distinguished." To this quotation I shall add another from an English author†: "Sense shines with the greatest beauty when it is set in Humility. A humble, able man, is a jewel worth a kingdom."

Solomon seems to have been peculiarly sensible of the excellence of this virtue, and of the many evils which arise from pride, its opposite vice. "A proud look" stands first among those seven things which he says, "The Lord

* De Villiers. † William Penn.

hateth, and which are an abomination unto him. When pride cometh, then cometh destruction; but with the lowly is wisdom. Only by pride cometh contention. Every one that is proud in heart, is an abomination to the Lord. Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall. Better it is to be of a humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud. A man's pride shall bring him low; but honour shall uphold the humble in spirit. A high look, and a proud heart, is sin. He that is of a proud heart stirreth up strife. Proud and haughty scorner is his name, who dealeth in proud wrath."

Great and numerous, we see, are the evils which result from Pride. It is, indeed, the grand destroyer of human happiness; and, perhaps, produces more human misery than all other vices put together. Ambition, envy, jealousy, discontent, contemptuousness, and contention, are its genuine offspring. It is soon offended; and, what is rather extraordinary, it is often very careless in giving offence to others. When we consider the many publick and private calamities which result from this vice, together with the unreasonableness of such imperfect beings as we are, cherishing it in our

bosoms; we shall be sensible of the justice of this proverbial observation, by an apocryphal writer: "Pride was not made for men; nor furious anger for them that are born of a woman."

Many are the gracious promises which are left upon record, for our encouragement to cultivate a truly humble state of mind. "God will save the humble person. He forgetteth not the cry of the humble. Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly. He giveth grace to the humble; but he beholdeth the proud afar off." And it is a circumstance which deserves our notice, that a humble disposition of mind was the first which engaged our Lord's attention, in those beatitudes, with which he prefaced his admirable sermon on the Mount; for it is generally understood, that Humility is, at least, included in the virtue to which he alluded, when he said: "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven."

The Apostle Paul gives the following admonitions on this subject: "I say to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think

soberly, according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith. Mind not high things. Be not wise in your own conceits; but condescend to men of low estate. Let us not be desirous of vain glory; for if a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself." To these admonitions we may add this exhortation of the Apostle Peter: "Ye younger, submit yourselves to the elder; yea, all of you be subject one to another; and be clothed with Humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time; casting all your care upon him; for he careth for you." These are strong recommendations of the virtue of Humility; but it is peculiarly enhanced in our view, when we consider the striking and encouraging language of the Almighty, by the prophet Isaiah: "Thus saith the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place: with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit; to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."

CHAPTER IV.

Meekness.

THIS is a virtue very similar to Humility, and is sometimes confounded with it. They are, however, quite distinct; and this distinction may, perhaps, be most easily shown, by stating, that the vice opposite to Meekness, is anger; whilst pride, as was before mentioned, is the opposite to Humility.

Meekness gives its possessor many advantages in passing through life; particularly from that state of self-government which it produces, and which is indeed its inseparable companion. When it is genuine, it not only makes a man master of himself, but gives him also a great ascendancy over others. "A soft answer turneth away wrath." There is, however, a fa[illegible] Meekness, (and the same distinction might ha[illegible] been made on Humility) which, proceeding from insensibility, affectation, or some mistaken apprehensions of this duty, tends to provoke rather than to allay anger. But we must not, on this account, slight or neglect the cultivation of this important virtue, to which many precious promises are attached in holy writ.

Moses was a remarkable example of meekness; for during the forty years in which he led the Israelites through the wilderness, and under the many provocations which he had to bear, from their impatient, discontented spirit, we do not find that he more than once lost the command of his temper. So remarkable was he for the exercise of this virtue, under the most trying circumstances, that it is said, "The man Moses was very meek, above all the men who lived on the face of the earth."

The Psalmist frequently shows the excellency of this state of mind, and that it is peculiarly favoured by the Divine Being. "The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way. God arose to judgment, to save all the meek of the earth. He will beautify the meek with salvation. The meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace." To the last passage our blessed Lord appears to allude, when he quotes the first part of it, and prefixes his Divine benediction to this state of mind. "Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth."

In the Book of Proverbs, the importance and excellence of this virtue is clearly shown,

and its opposite vice strongly censured. "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city. He that hath no rule over his own spirit, is like a city that is broken down, and without walls. He that is soon angry dealeth foolishly. A wrathful man stirreth up strife; but he that is slow to anger, appeaseth strife. Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry; for anger resteth in the bosom of fools." Although anger may at times take us unawares, yet great care should be exercised that it do not rest in our hearts. To prevent this, seems to have been the Apostle's view, when he says; "Be ye angry and sin not; let not the sun go down on your wrath." These words are considered, not as a command to be angry, but to avoid sinful anger. A very respectable Translator * renders it, "*If* ye be angry, sin not."

Meekness is a virtue which is particularly recommended to the female sex, by the Apostle Peter: but when we consider the great importance which he attaches to it, we must allow that it would be greatly the interest of both sexes to obtain possession of it. In giving advice respecting the adorning of Christian wives,

* Abp. Newcome.

he first shows what it should not be; and then, in setting forth what it should be, he expresses himself thus: "Let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible; even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price."

CHAPTER V.

Temperance and Sobriety.

THESE Virtues relate principally to moderation in eating and drinking; and when we consider the many evils, which result from the violation of the laws that Temperance prescribes, we must be sensible of the necessity of regulating our conduct according to its salutary rules. We are not called upon to deny ourselves of the moderate, and what is, in the event, the most pleasurable, gratification of those appetites, which our all-wise Creator has made necessary for our existence. We know, that "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving." But to this, and to all other knowledge, we are required to add Temperance; and so to regulate our conduct as to fulfil the apostolic precept: "Whether ye eat or drink; or whatsoever ye do; do all to the glory of God."

We find Temperance enumerated by the Apostle Paul among "the fruits of the Spirit." In another place, he shows its importance for attaining a superiority over others: "He that striveth for mastery is temperate in all things:"

and in describing the virtues necessary for a Bishop, or Overseer in the Church, this virtue is so particularly enforced, with some others which have been, or will be, treated on, as to render the introduction of the passage here not improper: "A Bishop must be blameless as the steward of God: not self-willed; not soon angry; not given to wine; no striker; not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality: a lover of good men; sober, just, holy, temperate."

We have a few sorrowful instances mentioned in holy writ, of men, whose general character was excellent, being overtaken with intemperance: but when we consider the lamentable consequences resulting from their conduct, it ought rather to excite our disgust and abhorrence of the crime, than to be an encouragement to a practice, which degrades a man below a brute.

When gluttony and drunkenness were added to disobedience to parents, they were, by the law of Moses, punishable with death. If the parents "shall say unto the elders of his city, this our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard; all the men of his city shall stone him

with stones that he die; so shalt thou put evil away from among you; and all Israel shall hear and fear."

Solomon, in his book of religious and moral maxims, shows the evils attendant on intemperance, and gives several exhortations against it: "Be not among wine-bibbers; among riotous eaters of flesh; for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty. Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise. He that is a companion of riotous men shameth his father." The following is a striking description of the lamentable consequences which follow excess in drinking. "Who hath wo? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup; when it moveth itself aright; at last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder. Thy eyes shall behold strange women, and thy heart shall utter perverse things. Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea; or as he that lieth on the top of a mast. They have stricken

me, shalt thou say, and I was not sick; they have beaten me, and I felt it not."

The prophet Isaiah repeatedly pronounced wo to those who are guilty of intemperance. "Wo to them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink. Wo to the crown of pride, (or as Lowth translates it, to the proud crown of) the drunkards of Ephraim."

On this subject our blessed Lord, whose conduct was equally remote from the extremes of the ascetic and the glutton, gives this pressing exhortation to his followers: "Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time, your hearts be over-charged with surfeiting and drunkenness." The Apostle Paul, with his usual attention to moral duties, gives many cautions against the vice of intemperance. "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be ye filled with the Spirit. Let us walk honestly as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness." And we should remember that "drunkenness, revellings and such like," are enumerated among "the works of the flesh," concerning which the Apostle declares "that they who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

CHAPTER VI.

Chastity.

THIS Virtue relates principally to the conduct of the sexes towards each other. It is not confined to our actions; but extends to our words, and even to the disposition of our minds. In order to maintain this virtue, great watchfulness is necessary; and when temptations to violate it are presented, our only security is immediately to withdraw from them: for this reason the Apostle Paul gives these cautions: "Flee youthful lusts;" "Flee fornication."

The violation of the laws of Chastity, is attended with the most serious consequences, both to the bodies and souls of mankind; and although custom, vicious custom, has diminished the loss of reputation on the part of the men; yet, we have no reason to doubt that the crime is equal in both sexes; and, when we consider the infamy which the female character sustains, by the breach of this moral duty, that consideration alone ought to be a sufficient reason for checking a vice, which often degrades a Being, the most amiable of all the works of God, below the most abject part of the brute creation; for what is there, in all the produc-

tions of nature, so loathsome and disgusting, as some of those abandoned females, who, particularly in large towns, frequently obtrude themselves upon our view? But when we trace their situation to its source; and consider the cause of the miseries of many, who may not have arrived to the same degree of hardness; when we thus examine the origin of these evils, and find it generally to exist in the depravity and seduction of the men; how ought we to guard against the first attacks of a vice, which is productive of consequences so lamentable.

Much, however, depends on the conduct of women for preventing the evil now under consideration. Were their conduct regulated by that modesty and sobriety recommended in the Holy Scriptures, the propensity to this vice would be greatly checked, and its extension much diminished. Their disposition, their manners, their dress, and their general deportment, are of great importance, and require a greater degree of caution than is frequently exercised. It is, indeed, deeply to be regretted, that the following admonition, by an Apostle of Jesus Christ, should be so little attended to, as there is reason to fear it is, by many who call themselves Christians: "I will also that women

adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but, which becometh women professing godliness, with good works."

I wish to say as little as possible on this subject, remembering that the vices alluded to are such as the Apostle says, should " not be once named among" Christians. But by this expression he might mean, that they should not be named, as existing among them; or that they should not be, as they too often are, subjects of light, and even of public conversation, to the violating of the apostolic injunction, " Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth; but that which is good, to the use of edifying." One or other of these constructions seems necessary, to reconcile the Apostle's advice with his practice; for he has named some of the violations of Chastity, in all, or most of his Epistles.

When it is considered how much the Holy Scriptures have pointed out the necessity of purity or chastity; how strongly they have inculcated this virtue; and how forcibly they have represented the evils attending a violation of it; it is strange that, among a people professing

Christianity, Chastity should be so little esteemed and insisted upon, as it is by many who make this high profession. How little are these admonitions attended to: " Walk not as other gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind,—who, being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness. But ye have not so learned Christ. Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul." In the first of these passages we find a striking contrast betwixt the purity of the Christian religion, and the impurity of that of the Gentiles. Their very religion was contaminated with lasciviousness; their deities, their worship, their laws, all conspired to promote this vice; and their degradation to every kind of obscenity is too gross to be particularized. " But we have not so learned Christ." No; Christianity is a pure religion: it not only teaches to abstain from the commission of these crimes; but it even checks them in their first conception. " He that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart. Keep [then] thyself pure;" remembering who it was that said, " Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

But it is not in the New Testament only, that Purity and Chastity are recommended, and their opposite vices condemned. The Old Testament contains many excellent advices on this subject, and some examples are related, from which we may draw much profitable instruction. When Abraham, with a very condemnable timidity, exposed his wife to the temptation of a neighbouring king, the sense which he manifested of the sin of adultery, is worthy the attention of many, who ought not to stand in need of such examples. The warm remonstrance of Abimilech with Abraham, is indeed highly creditable to his character. "What hast thou done unto us? and what have I offended thee, that thou hast (or wouldst have) brought on me, and my kingdom, a great sin? Thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done. And Abimilech said [further] unto Abraham, what sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing?"

The example of Joseph, when he was a confidential slave in the house of Potiphar, and was tempted by his wicked mistress, is generally known; but the answer of this virtuous young man to her solicitation, will still bear repeating: "Behold, my master wotteth not, what is with me in the house, and he hath committed all that he hath to my hand. There is none greater in this house than I, neither hath he kept back any thing from me, but thee, because thou art his wife. How then can I do this wickedness, and sin against God?"

The crime of adultery is indeed censured by all nations, pretending to any degree of civilization; and by many, even in what is considered a savage state. In the law of Moses it was particularly prohibited. "Thou shalt not commit adultery," was one of the Ten Commandments delivered to the Israelites at Mount Sinai; and it is one of the crimes which were punishable with death. "The man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death." Although this may appear to some a severe punishment; yet, certainly, the crime is much greater, than many for which death is inflicted in most Christian countries.

But by the Jewish law, not only adultery, but fornication, or whoredom, were forbidden. "Do not prostitute thy daughter to cause her to be a whore, lest the land fall to whoredom, and become full of wickedness. There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a

sodomite (or, as many translators render it, a whoremonger) of the sons of Israel."

In the Book of Proverbs, we have many instructive cautions against this sin, which show the fatal consequences that result from it. "The commandment is a lamp, and the law is light; and reproofs of instruction are the way to life; to keep thee from the evil woman; from the flattery of the tongue of a strange woman. Lust not after her beauty in thy heart, neither let her take thee with her eye-lids; for by means of a whorish woman, a man is brought to a piece of bread; and the adulteress will hunt for the precious life." Again, "Remove thy way far from a strange woman, and come not near the door of her house; lest thou give thy honour unto others, and thy years unto the cruel—and thou mourn at last when thy body, and thy flesh are consumed; and say, how have I hated instruction, and my heart despised reproof. Hearken unto me now, therefore, O ye children! and attend to the words of my mouth. Let not thy heart incline to her ways; go not astray in her paths: for her house is the way to hell; going down to the chambers of death."

To conclude this subject, on which I have found it necessary to say more than I at first

designed; let us remember the important declarations of the Holy Apostle: "This is the will of God, even your sanctification; that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour; not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles who know not God. For God hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto holiness. Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body: know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid. Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God. For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous (or rather libidinous) man, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words, for, because of these things, cometh the wrath of God on the children of disobedience." Thus certain it is, that "whoremongers and adulterers God will judge; and they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death."

CHAPTER VII.

Discretion or Prudence.

THIS is a Virtue of high importance, in regulating the whole of our conduct through life. It is often applied to the management of our temporal concerns, as preventing us from engaging in unwarrantable undertakings, and as inducing us to keep our expenses within our incomes. But this is not the whole of the objects it embraces. There is scarcely any concern in life, in which we do not need the aid of discretion. When better motives are wanting, it may be profitably applied to the restraint of vice; and even our other virtues stand in need of its salutary restrictions. "A good man showeth favour and lendeth;" but, at the same time, "he guideth his affairs with discretion."

What we have on this subject in Holy Writ, is principally contained in the Proverbs of Solomon. He represents Prudence as being the intimate companion of Wisdom: "I, Wisdom, dwell with Prudence. The wise in heart shall be called prudent." Wisdom and Prudence are distinct acquirements, and the former is very imperfect without the latter. "My son (says Solomon again) keep sound wisdom,

and discretion. The discretion of a man deferreth his anger. A fool's wrath is presently known; but a prudent man covereth shame. A prudent man concealeth [his own] knowledge; but the mouth of fools proclaimeth foolishness. Every prudent man dealeth with knowledge; but a fool layeth open his folly. The simple believe every word; but the prudent man looketh well to his way. A prudent man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself; but the simple pass on, and are punished."

This virtue we find recorded among the qualities, which the Evangelical Prophet foretold should distinguish the character of the Messiah: "My servant shall deal prudently:" and we find the Apostle, in his Epistle to Titus, recommending that the young women, and young men, should be advised to the exercise of discretion.

The following remarks on this subject, by an eminent writer,* are so excellent, as to induce me to give them a place here: "Discretion is like an under-agent of Providence, to guide and direct us in the ordinary concerns of life. There are more shining qualities in the mind

* Addison.

of man, but there is none so useful as discretion. It is this, indeed, which gives a value to all the rest; which sets them at work in their proper times and places; and turns them to the advantage of the person who is possessed of them. Without it, learning is pedantry, and wit impertinence. Virtue itself looks like weakness; the best parts only qualify a man to be more sprightly in errors, and active to his own prejudice." Again, "Though a man have all other perfections, and want discretion, he will be of no great consequence in the world; but if he have this single talent in perfection, and but a common share of others, he may do what he pleases in his particular station of life." To this I would add, that when Humility is united with Prudence, they produce, in my apprehension, more than any other virtues, comfort and reputation for us in this world; and are not without their use, in preparing us for a state of happiness, in that which is to come.

CHAPTER VIII.

Industry or Diligence.

THE importance of this virtue, for the reputable support of individuals and of families, is universally acknowledged. Indeed employment is beneficial in every station of life. The want of industry, when circumstances require its exercise, is represented by the Apostle, as making a man worse than an infidel. Yet, perhaps, he did not mean to say, that idleness is worse than infidelity; but that when it prevails among Christians, it places their character, in this particular respect, below that of many who are infidels or heathens. The cause of Religion suffers much, when those who lay claim, and perhaps an extraordinary claim, to it, neglect a proper attention to their temporal concerns. By this means they often fail of performing those engagements which they have entered into, become burdensome to others, and, by distress and perplexity, often lose the little religion which they once possessed. It was, I apprehend, to correct this error in religion, that the Apostle thus strongly represents the consequences of neglecting a proper care for ourselves and our families: "If any provide not

for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

Very strenuously does Solomon recommend industry, or diligence in business; and as severely does he reprobate the opposite vice. "The hand of the diligent maketh rich, and beareth rule; but the slothful shall be under tribute. The substance of a diligent man is precious. Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings: he shall not stand before mean men. Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds; for riches are not for ever; and doth the crown endure to every generation?" To the sluggard, and respecting him, the following passages are appropriate: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways, and be wise; who having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest. I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding: and lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face of it, and the stone wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction. Yet

a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep: so shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man."

By the foregoing passages we see the benefits of industry, and the evils consequent upon idleness. But let us be careful not to suffer the duty here recommended so to absorb our attention, as to make us neglect any of those other duties which religion requires of us. At the same time that we are careful to be "not slothful in business," let us remember what immediately follows, but "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

CHAPTER IX.

Frugality.

FRUGALITY consists in a sparing use of what we possess, and the avoiding of unnecessary expense. Both frugality and industry, are publick as well as private virtues. They enrich nations as well as individuals. True frugality increases our enjoyments, as well as our possessions. It makes a man of moderate circumstances, and sometimes even a poor man, more independent than one who possesses great affluence; if the latter is not bounded by prudence in his expenses. Although this virtue is not much inculcated in direct terms, in the Holy Scriptures, yet it may be considered as necessarily included in that Prudence or Discretion of which we have already treated; and it is so unavoidable a consequence of many of the moral precepts, which are inculcated both in the Old and New Testament, that it may be considered a Christian virtue. That moderation which we are required to exhibit to all men, cannot be fully exercised without it; and when we abstain from all those indulgences and vices which the Christian religion forbids, we are, at least, in the high road to frugality.

But whilst we are paying proper attention to this virtue, as well as to industry, we should beware of their extremes, a parsimonious and a covetous disposition. Both these are evils against which we have many scriptural admonitions: "There is that scattereth and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty. He that soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly." "Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbour's," is the substance of the tenth commandment. Covetousness is, indeed, peculiarly marked with Divine disapprobation: "The wicked blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth." "Incline my heart to thy testimonies, and not to covetousness," was a prayer of the Psalmist; and Solomon saith, "He that hateth covetousness shall prolong his days." This vice is severely reprehended by the Jewish prophets: "For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth. With their mouth they show much love; but their heart goeth after their covetousness. Wo unto him that coveteth an evil covetousness."

Our blessed Lord frequently reproves this vice in the Pharisees of his time; and gives this solemn charge: "Take heed and beware of

covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

The following instructive exhortations of the Apostle are of great importance to us all: "Godliness with contentment is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare; and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil: (or rather of all these evils:) which while some have coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. Therefore, let your conversation be without covetousness; and be content with such things as ye have; for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee."

CHAPTER X.

On Cheerfulness.

WRITERS on Morality have not often given Cheerfulness a place among the duties of men. It is, however, sufficiently inculcated in the Scriptures, to induce us to notice it among these duties; and it is the more needful, because the enemies, and even some of the friends of religion, are apt to exclude it from the code of those virtues which Christianity requires.

Cheerfulness is a medium betwixt levity and gloominess. It is compatible with seriousness: and its purest and most permanent source, is a humble, grateful consideration of the many favours and blessings which we enjoy from the Divine Hand. A writer* lately quoted, makes these, among other, excellent observations upon it: "When I consider this cheerful state of mind, I cannot but look upon it as a constant, habitual gratitude to the great Author of nature. An inward cheerfulness is an implicit praise and thanksgiving to Providence under all its dispensations. It is a kind of acquiescence in the state wherein we are placed; and a secret approbation of the Divine will in his conduct towards man."

* Addison.

By numbering, or considering, our blessings, the mind is prevented from dwelling improperly on the deprivations which we sustain, or think we sustain, in this probationary state of existence. In this disposition, the propriety of the Apostolic exhortation is seen and felt: "Rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks."

It is of no small importance in our passage through life to maintain a cheerful state of mind. To this end an attention to the foregoing exhortation of the Apostle, and a consideration of the reasons for it, will be beneficial. Correspondent with this exhortation are some observations of the wise Solomon, in which he shows the benefits of a cheerful disposition, which our translators, according to the terms then in use, have rendered, "a merry heart;" this he observes, "doth good like a medicine; but a broken spirit drieth the bones." These observations are, no doubt, intended to excite that cheerful vivacity, which is consistent with religion and virtue; and it appears to have been particularly the object of Solomon, to guard against a fretful disposition, by which many persons needlessly distress themselves; and at the same time, make those with whom they are connected, uncomfortable. When sorrow proceeds

from sufficient cause, and is duly regulated, this writer, with others of the sacred penmen, shows its advantages, and excites sympathy with it. He also exposes the folly of a light, airy disposition of mind. "Even in laughter, the heart is [often] sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness. I said of laughter, it is mad; and of mirth, what doth it?"

Our blessed Lord was particularly careful to guard his disciples against a gloomy disposition and appearance. Even in the performance of a religious duty, which, above all others, implies serious humiliation, he prohibits an appearance that might improperly expose the employment of the mind, or cause an impression of extraordinary sanctity: "When ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face; that thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father, who seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly." Notwithstanding the very serious importance of our Lord's mission, he affected no austerity, he practised no severity. He sympathized with the true mourners; but, at the same time, he encouraged and animated them with the prospect of better days. He

endeavoured to relieve his disciples from all anxiety respecting the things of this world: he taught them to be content with a little, and to be thankful for that little. His whole system (if I may so call it) was calculated to relieve the mind, and to give it a serenity and cheerfulness, above that of any other religion in the world.

It should, however, be considered, that previous to the perfect operation of religion on the mind, and, perhaps, even when the work is nearly completed, there will be many close conflicts and secret exercises, as well as outward trials, which will unavoidably, at times, depress the heart, and affect the countenance. We should also consider, that the minds and countenances of some persons are so formed by nature, as to deprive them of that cheerful appearance which others possess: these circumstances should excite much caution in judging one another in this respect. It must, however, be admitted by those who consider the duties and prospects which Christianity presents, particularly our blessed Lord's sermon on the Mount, that gloominess and moroseness, as well as censoriousness and ostentation, form no part of the religion of Jesus Christ.

CLASS II.

PARTICULAR DUTIES.

CHAPTER I.

Of Husbands and Wives.

HAVING treated on the most important of those General Duties, which we owe to ourselves and one to another, it will be proper to proceed to the consideration of those Particular Duties, which our different relations in life require. We shall first take those which arise from the married state.

MARRIAGE is a divine institution of the greatest antiquity. It is the means which our all-wise Creator has ordained, to continue the existence of the human species; and the mutual attachment which it requires in those who are united by it, produces many duties necessary for the comfortable enjoyment of each other's society. Those who are joined in marriage are said to "become one flesh." Their objects and their interests are, or ought to be, the same. Their duties to each other differ very little. Nature and religion having united in giving a

degree of superiority to the man, a correspondent subjection, or obedience, becomes the duty of the woman. This law is necessary for the preservation of order; and it is observable, that through all the relative duties, Christianity settles the subordination in such a manner, as would, if it were attended to, remove many of those feuds, which destroy the peace of families, and of Governments. However, in the relation of man and wife, this subordination takes place in a smaller degree, than in any of the other relations. When we consider the near affinity described by Adam on Eve's being brought to him; "This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh," it is evident that love, mutual love, is the first duty of the married state. "He who made them at the beginning, made them male and female; and said, for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh. Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

The principal duties which arise from the relation of husband and wife, are enforced in the following scriptures. I shall first take

those which relate to the men: "Rejoice with the wife of thy youth. The Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously; yet she is thy companion, and the wife of thy youth. Therefore take heed to your spirit, that none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth. Husbands love your wives, and be not bitter against them. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife, loveth himself. Ye husbands dwell with your wives according to knowledge; giving honour to the wife, as unto the weaker vessel; and as being heirs together of the grace of life."

To the women we have these exhortations: "Wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church. Therefore as the church is subject to Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. Ye wives, be in subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, they also may, without the word, be won by the conversation of the wives; while they behold your chaste conversation, coupled with fear: whose adorning, let it not

be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, and of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible; even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price; for after this manner, in the old time, the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves; being in subjection to their own husbands."

I shall conclude this subject with part of the description which Solomon gives of a good wife: "Who can find a virtuous woman, for her price is far above rubies? The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her. She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life. She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her houshold, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her."

CHAPTER II.

Parents and Children.

THE power of parents over their children, in ancient times, was much greater than it is at present, at least in civilized states. This power extended formerly over the liberty, and even the life of the child. By the Mosaic law, filial disobedience was punishable by death; but the power of inflicting it was taken from the parent, and vested in the elders of the city; no doubt after a fair and open trial. In this, and in some other instances, where the Jewish law appears to be severe; a great improvement is, nevertheless, made upon the practices of surrounding nations; and, by the way, it may not be improper to inculcate an attention to this circumstance, in reading the Mosaic Institutions.

We have a striking example of parental duty in the Patriarch Abraham; in the account of whom we find, that his attention to this duty, is assigned as a cause, why the destruction of Sodom was revealed to him. "And the Lord said, shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do? For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord,

to do justice and judgment." Thus did this Patriarch inculcate by his example, what was taught by Moses, some centuries after his time: "These words which I command thee shall be in thy heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children: thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Consistently with this injunction was the advice of Solomon: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it." This may be considered as a correct general observation, to which, however, we meet with some sorrowful exceptions.

But children do not require instruction only; sometimes correction is necessary: "Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child: but the rod of correction shall drive it out." Therefore, "he that spareth his rod, hateth his son; but he that loveth him, chasteneth him betimes. The rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself, bringeth his mother to shame."

Christianity has completed what the Mosaic law began. It prohibits all unnecessary severity in parents, whilst it strongly enforces

filial subjection. Thus the Apostle, considering, no doubt, that the heathens, amongst those to whom he was writing, dwelt, were in the practice of treating their children with great tyranny and cruelty, endeavours to check a disposition to severity in parents. "Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged." And again; "Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Although the moral and religious education of children, both by instruction and restraint, is the duty of all parents, yet we find it is peculiarly required of a bishop or overseer in the Church of Christ, that he be "One that ruleth well his own house; having his children in subjection, with all gravity."

Whilst instruction, correction, and tenderness, are the duties of a parent; attention, obedience, and affection, are indispensable obligations upon the child. "Honour thy father and thy mother," is a precept equally enforced by Judaism and Christianity. It is, indeed, the law of nature, as well as of grace. "Obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right." There is nothing short of duty to God can supersede the duty of children to parents; and it is with

this restriction only, that the following precept is given: "Obey your parents in all things; for this is right."

The duty of children to parents, however, does not merely consist in obedience to their commands; it also requires that affectionate regard, and even partiality, which disposes to conceal, rather than to expose, their faults. The different conduct of the children of Noah, when their father was overtaken with intemperance, affords an instructive instance of the consequences of filial regard, and filial contempt; and is an exemplification of this striking, figurative observation of Solomon: "The eye which mocketh at his father, and refuseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it." Thus, "Cursed is he that setteth light by his father or mother; and all the people shall say, Amen."

CHAPTER III.

Masters and Servants.

THE relation of Master and Servant was much improved by the Mosaic law; and still more by the Christian religion. The regulations of the former are excellent and liberal: "If thy brother, that dwelleth by thee, be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant, but as a hired-servant, and as a sojourner he shall be with thee. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigour, but shalt fear thy God." To Christian masters, the Apostle gives these short, but comprehensive directions: "Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in Heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him."

Very beautiful and impressive is the language of Job, respecting his conduct towards his servants: "If I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me, what then shall I do when God riseth up; and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the

womb, make him? And did not one fashion us in the womb?"

To those in the station of servants, the following directions are given: "Be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service as men pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God; not answering again; not purloining; but showing all good fidelity; that ye may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, in all things. Servants be subject to your own masters in all things; not only to the good and gentle; but also to the froward. Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God, and his doctrine, be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful, and beloved, partakers of the benefit."

CHAPTER IV.

Magistrates and Subjects.

GOVERNMENT and subordination are essential to civilized life; and we find accordingly, that the duties of Magistrates and Subjects are largely set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. In the former, we have more directions given for the conduct of rulers, and in the latter, for that of subjects. We find no form of government particularly enjoined; but whatever may be the form, the duties of magistrates and of subjects are still the same. Monarchical Government being most common, Kings are most frequently mentioned; but the duties connected with this appellation are equally applicable to the Chief Magistrate, or Supreme Power, in any nation.

"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. These qualifications are like the basis, on which all the other duties of Magistrates are laid. Thus we find, when Jethro recommended to Moses, to provide himself assistants in the Government of the Israelites, he pointed out the necessary qualifications: "Thou shalt provide out of all the people, able

men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." To those who were thus chosen, Moses gave this charge: "Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's." Similar to this was the charge of Jehoshaphat to those whom he appointed Judges in Israel: "Take heed what ye do; for ye judge not for man, [only] but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment: wherefore now, let the fear of God be upon you; take heed and do it; for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts." Thus were justice and judgment inculcated among the Jews; and when their rulers and judges became corrupted, the prophets did not neglect to censure them, and to declare the Divine judgments against them: Isaiah pronounces "Wo unto them that decree unrighteous decrees; and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn away the needy from judgment, and to take

away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless." Thus also does the prophet Habakkuk complain of the mal-administration of justice in his day: "The law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth; for the wicked doth compass about the righteous, therefore wrong judgment proceedeth." Zechariah complains that the following salutary counsel was rejected: "Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion, every man to his brother. And oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless; the stranger, nor the poor."

Solomon has many excellent observations on the qualifications and duties of rulers: "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked bear rule, the people mourn. Mercy and truth preserve the King; and his throne is upholden by mercy. It is an abomination to Kings to commit wickedness; for the throne is established by righteousness."

The line of conduct which is drawn for those who are in the station of subjects, is clear and strong; and were the precepts which are given us, duly considered, it would greatly tend to

check that licentious disposition, which, under the pretence of liberty and freedom, is often indulged towards those whom Divine Providence has placed in authroity over us. "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people," was a Jewish institution, of which the Apostle Paul acknowledged the propriety; and both he and Peter are express in their injunctions upon the early Christians, that they should show subjection to those who were placed over them. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath; but also for conscience' sake. For this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers attending upon this very thing. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness; but as the servants of God. Honour all men; love the brotherhood; fear God; honour the King."

The consideration of the times and circumstances under which those advices were given,

adds greatly to their force. They were given in the worst ages of the Roman government, by men who had lived in the times of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius; and who wrote when Nero reigned. If these were the obligations of Christians in such times, it is difficult to conceive a time, or circumstance, under which a true Christian could be justified in violating those instructions. We may therefore safely attend to the admonitions of Solomon: "Fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change."

The duty which we owe to our Governors, may be said, in some respects, to resemble that which is due to our parents. The protection and other advantages, which we derive from them, should induce us to look with partiality, rather than prejudice, at their actions. If we cannot approve of all they do, we ought to consider, that our knowledge of subjects relating to government, is not likely to be equal to theirs: they may likewise be acquainted with circumstances to which we are strangers. It should also be considered, that they are men, "subject to like passions as we are;" that the difficulties and temptations attending their situations are great; that we ourselves often err in the ma-

nagement of our own small private concerns, either through want of judgment, or want of conduct; and that, even when neither of these are wanting, we cannot command success. If these considerations operated properly on our minds, they would contribute to lessen that severity, with which many persons reflect on the conduct of those, whom Divine Providence has made rulers over them; and whom we are divinely commanded to honour, as well as to obey.

There is one duty, arising from the subject now under consideration, which claims particular attention. This is the faithful payment of taxes imposed for the service of the government under which we live. It is to be regretted, that, even among men who think they support an honest character, the violation of this duty, should scarcely be esteemed a crime. We should reflect that it is not the government only that is defrauded, which is, no doubt, wrong; but that our honest neighbours also suffer. The expenses of government must be paid; and if one man does not contribute what is imposed upon him, his share must be supplied by others. But when a contraband trade is carried on, an honest man is still further injured; he is paralysed, as it were, in his efforts to provide a

a reputable subsistence for himself and his family. When these evils are considered, it is surprising that practices in themselves immoral, and productive of such consequences, should be deemed of so light importance as they frequently are. They are certainly in direct opposition to the precepts of our holy religion. When our blessed Lord was thus interrogated, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or not?" after some previous observations, which manifest his opinion on the subject, he answers: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Indeed, he not only enjoined this duty upon others, but was himself an example of it, in the circumstance recorded by Matthew, chap. xvii. 24, &c. We ought, therefore, carefully to attend to the Apostolic injunction; "Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another; for love is the fulfilling of the law."

There is one obligation, however, which may supersede our duty to Magistrates, and indeed, occasionally, all the other relative duties. This is the duty which we owe to God and to our

own conscience, with which the laws of men sometimes interfere. But, if we cannot actively comply with that which the law requires, we ought patiently to suffer the penalty or punishment which it imposes. Thus the early Christians, with many others both before and since their time, have nobly and meekly suffered the loss of property, liberty, and even life itself, in support of that faith and those practices which true religion requires.

CHAPTER V.

On Patriotism.

THIS is a duty which we owe to the Country in which we live, and from which we generally derive those benefits and comforts which render our lives agreeable and happy. The Love of our Country attaches both to place and people, and induces us to prefer its real interests to those of any other nation or people, and even to our own concerns; subject, however, to those restrictions which justice and prudence impose on all our actions; and, by no means, excluding a regard for the welfare of other countries.

When we consider the many advantages, which those derive from one another in a state of society, who inhabit the same Country, are bound by the same Laws, and are subject to the same Rulers; and when we reflect how much the happiness of individuals depends on the prosperity of the whole; we ought to consider ourselves under a moral obligation, to promote the general good of those with whom we are thus united, so far as Divine Providence has afforded us the means and opportunity of doing it.

Some of the enemies of the Bible, and even some of its friends, have suggested, that the reli-

gion which it inculcates, is unfavourable to Patriotism. Controversy is not my present business; but, I trust, that whilst inculcating this virtue, it will be found that the suggestion is without foundation.

True religion, or, in other words, the religion which is taught in the Bible, is a principle, which is unbounded in its operation. Its most prominent feature is, Universal Love, without respect to the boundaries of sea and land: and to promote the happiness of the human race all the world over, is its principal object. This object is so much inculcated in the Holy Scriptures, and particularly in the New Testament, as to account, in degree, for the mistake into which some persons have fallen, in supposing that some of the peculiar, social virtues are not sufficiently recommended. What is before written on these virtues, will, I apprehend, be sufficient to show, that the Christian Religion is peculiarly adapted to all the relations of life; and that, if it does not foster the ambitious views of some of its professors, it is because the happiness of men is incompatible with those views, to which they would, perhaps, apply the name of Patriotism.

Of all the instances of this virtue which are recorded in history, ancient or modern, sacred

or profane, it will, I conceive, be difficult to find one so noble, or so disinterested, as that of Moses. His attachment to the people over whom he presided, presents his character in a most amiable point of view. When the displeasure of the Almighty was manifested against them, after their idolatrous conduct at Mount Sinai, how forcibly did he intercede in their favour! "Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their sin: and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy Book which thou hast written." On another occasion, when the Almighty threatened the destruction of the Israelites; and even offered to make of him "a greater nation, and mightier than they;" how nobly did he sacrifice every view that ambition might have opened, to the Love of his God, and the Love of his People! After powerfully interceding, from various considerations, that they might again be forgiven, he obtained this gracious answer to his prayer: "I have pardoned according to thy word."

Numerous are the instances of Patriotism which the Old Testament affords. The Book of Psalms, whilst it holds out a further, and more spiritual meaning, derives many of its excellencies from that amor patriæ,* which in-

* The Love of our Country.

influenced the minds of its writers: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem! let my right hand forget her cunning: if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." So far, indeed, was an attachment to the country in which Providence has placed us, inculcated among the Jews, that they were required, when taken captive to another land, to seek the peace of the city whither they were carried; and to pray to the Lord for it: "For, says the prophet Jeremiah, in the peace thereof ye shall have peace."

Nor is it only in the more circumscribed dispensation of the Jewish law, that a predilection for our country is evinced. We find, that even in inculcating the great truths of the Christian Religion, this predilection is manifest. He who was prophesied of, as "a Light to enlighten the Gentiles, and for salvation to the ends of the earth;" even "He came to his own; though his own [in general] received him not." His personal appearance and ministry were confined to his own country, whose miseries he foresaw and lamented, with all the tenderness of which humanity is capable. He even wept at the prospect which presented itself before him: and, at another time, lamented over the

city, in this moving language: "O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! How often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings; but ye would not." Thus did our blessed Redeemer manifest his solicitude for the welfare of the country in which he lived, when on earth; and where he finished the work which was given him to do.

We likewise find the apostles of our Lord, both before and after his crucifixion, first and principally laboured to propagate the gospel of Christ among their own people, the Jews. Even Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, when he entered into those places where Jews resided, first directed his gospel labours to them: and such was his patriotism; such his love to his country and people; that he could not only say, "My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved;" but with a love, as ardent as it was pure, also declared: "I could wish myself accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites;—whose are the fathers; and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came; who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

MISCELLANEOUS

AND

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

SINCE drawing up this Compendium of Religious and Moral Duties, it has appeared proper to take notice of a few subjects, which did not seem to come under any of the foregoing heads, and which I shall therefore include in one Chapter of Miscellaneous and Concluding Observations.

The first subject is, a light and irreverent use of the sacred name. This is an evil sorrowfully prevalent among the professors of Christianity. It is not only practised in that profane swearing, which stamps ignominy on the conduct of many persons, in the different stations of life, and is a direct violation of the repeated command, "Swear not at all," in the most limited construction of it; but, we also find, in common conversation, many, who would be thought respectable for their religion and virtue, carelessly and unnecessarily making use of one or another of the Divine appellations, in clear opposition to that commandment, which says, "Thou shalt not take the Name of the

Lord, thy God, in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain."

It may also be proper to impress the mind of the reader, with the importance of associating with suitable companions; and with the evils resulting from improper connexions and acquaintance. To reason on the propriety of the one, or on the impropriety of the other, seems to be superfluous; as the consequences are so evident, that even those, who are far from being properly careful in these points of conduct, will frequently recommend them to the attention of others. There are, however, some passages in Holy Writ, so applicable to this subject, and so impressive of its importance, that I trust the recital of them will be beneficial: "Blessed, says the Psalmist, is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful." In another place he says: "I have not sat with vain persons, neither will I go in with dissemblers. I have hated the congregation of evil doers, and will not sit with the wicked." Solomon delivers some excellent cautions on this subject: "My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not. Enter not into the path of the wicked, and go not in the way of evil men. Avoid it, pass

not by it, turn from it, and pass away. He that walketh with wise men, shall be wise; but a companion of fools shall be destroyed. Cease, my son, to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge. He that is a companion of riotous men, shameth his father; and he that followeth after vain persons, shall have poverty enough." To these exhortations and observations, we may add the following, from the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "I have written unto you, not to keep company: if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner: with such a one, no not to eat. Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners."

Intimately connected with the company which we keep, are the books that we read; and all the good or evil consequences resulting from the former, are equally applicable to the latter. When we consider the profusion with which books are now circulated; and how they meet us in almost every situation; it requires great care that our selection of them be such, as is not likely to impede, but will rather promote, our progress in religion and virtue.

It is of great importance to our religious and moral improvement, that we stand open to the

advice and reproof of our friends; and, even if we should think them severe upon us, not to reject nor resent their admonitions. From the very censures of an enemy, much benefit may be derived, by a mind desirous of improvement. "Open rebuke is better than secret love," is an observation made by one, whose character stands pre-eminent for wisdom and knowledge. Much, indeed, depends on the right reception of advice. "He is in the way of life that keepeth instruction; but he that refuseth reproof, erreth. Poverty and shame shall be to him that refuseth instruction; but he that regardeth reproof, shall be honoured. A fool despiseth his father's instruction; but he that regardeth reproof, is prudent." Wherefore, "Hear counsel, and receive instruction, that thou mayest be wise in thy latter end:" for "he that being often reproved, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy."

To these admonitions may be added the example of the Psalmist, when he expresses himself thus: "Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness; and let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent oil which shall not break my head; for yet my prayer also shall be in their calamity."

There are likewise many exhortations in Holy Writ, respecting the administring of advice; but they may all be summed up in one, contained in the first Epistle to the Church at Thessalonica: "Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly; comfort the feeble-minded; support the weak; be patient towards all men." When these duties are faithfully and properly discharged, and supported by a correspondent conduct, those who perform them are a blessing to mankind; and ought, as well as those "who labour in the word and doctrine, to be esteemed very highly in love, for their work's sake."

Civility, or good manners, though one of the minor duties, is of no small importance in our passage through life. When we are in the company of virtuous persons, it is peculiarly proper to treat them with respect; and this duty, on such occasions, is admitted to be of indispensable obligation. But even when our necessary concerns lead us among persons whose characters are exceptionable, they are entitled to civil behaviour; and our influence with them is promoted by showing it. If we should think it necessary to manifest our disapprobation of their principles or conduct, it should be done consistently with good manners, as well as in a

Christian spirit. Indeed, if our minds were imbibed with that meekness and humility, which have already been inculcated, we should very rarely, if ever, violate the rules of civility. But, a separate consideration of this duty seemed proper, because some persons, who possess many virtuous qualities, are not sufficiently attentive to it. Let such remember the scriptural exhortations: "Be pitiful, be courteous; not returning railing for railing. Honour (or respect) all men. Condescend to men of low estate."

Our blessed Lord, when inculcating the duty of humility, shows its influence upon good manners; and the following direction, respecting one part of our conduct in company, deserves attention, particularly by persons in the early part of life: "When thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room, (or place;) that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, friend, go up higher; so shalt thou have worship (or respect) in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee."

The means adapted to promote our improvement in piety and virtue, are of great importance; and claim a particular consideration in this place. A strict attention to the duties of religion, must be allowed to be essential for ob-

taining a blessing on our endeavours after a state of Divine acceptance, and moral usefulness. Of these duties, religious meditation, watchfulness, and prayer, claim our principal attention: these should be accompanied with a close and impartial self-examination, how far our hearts and conduct are regulated according to the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and are under the influence of that Divine grace, or Holy Spirit, the assistance of which is necessary for every good word and work. An attendance on public worship, and embracing every suitable opportunity of obtaining religious and moral instruction, will also be greatly conducive to that improvement, the means of promoting which, we are now considering. To these may be added, the society of persons of piety, virtue, and wisdom; and the perusal of books, tending to promote attainments of so great importance. Of these books, I scarcely need say, that the Holy Scriptures claim an unrivalled pre-eminence.

Industry is also a great friend to virtue; and learning has been, not without reason, called, the handmaid of religion. But, when the mind is absorbed, either in business or in learning; and, they, instead of being subordinate, are

made principal objects; they then lose their beneficial effects, and frequently lead into a state of alienation from the inexhaustible source of every good and perfect gift. Learning and Industry, when properly regulated, are, however, attended with so many beneficial consequences, that I cannot but recommend them among the means, at least, of preventing those evils, which arise from idleness, and want of employment. Learning, when rightly pursued and directed, also strengthens and enlarges the mind. It produces an acquaintance with the works of God in the creation; and is exceedingly useful in obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, by reading them in the original tongues; circumstances, which may be made very beneficial, in promoting the cause of religion and virtue. Yet, let those who are disposed to pursue learning, remember, that "Knowledge [alone] puffeth up;" and that it ought, therefore, to be mixed with that Charity, which not only edifieth, but sanctifieth; and directs all our acquirements to these most important objects, the glory of God, and the good of our fellow-creatures.

In writing this work, the words of the Psalmist, in an address to the Almighty, have fre-

quently been brought to my remembrance: "Thy commandment is exceeding broad." Extensive, indeed, is the field of labour, which a proper attention to duty opens before us. Reflection and action are both called into use; and, when united under the influence of Divine grace, will not fail of producing "fruit unto life eternal." But, wide and extensive as our duties are, they are so simple, and so reasonable, that I apprehend the propriety of those which are inculcated in this volume, will scarcely be controverted by any individual; at least, not by any who lays claim to the name of a Christian; and, I trust, it will be universally admitted, that where these duties are properly regarded, the great essentials of the Christian character are attained. They are duties becoming rational and immortal spirits. If the practice of them is, at times, difficult and laborious, means are afforded, more than equal to this difficulty and labour. "My grace is sufficient for thee," is applicable to every true believer in Christ, in all times of trial and temptation; and they who live under the influence of this grace, can at times say, "We are more than conquerors through him that loved us." Notwithstanding all the exercises to which the Christian traveller is subject, the mortification

and self-denial which an attention to religious and moral duties may require, are not so great as are often imposed upon men, by a pursuit of the vain and sinful pleasures of the world. The present enjoyments, and the future prospects of the humble Christian, are of so exalted a nature, that this world has nothing to put in competition with them, but what may be considered as vanity; and often worse than vanity, vexation of spirit. To the obedient and subjected mind, the "ways of wisdom are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace. The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness, and assurance for ever."

Having now finished these miscellaneous remarks, I shall conclude with the following exhortations of an inspired apostle: they form a kind of recapitulation of the duties which have been inculcated in this volume, and may not improperly close these humble endeavours, for the promotion of the cause of religion and virtue; a cause, dignified with immortality, and crowned with eternal life: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are

lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. See that none render evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves, and to all men. Rejoice evermore; pray without ceasing; in every thing give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus, concerning you. Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying; prove all things; hold fast that which is good; and the very God of peace sanctify you wholly. And I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be preserved blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

FINIS.

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THE FAITH

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS,

IN

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST,

SET FORTH IN

Various Extracts from their Writings.

By HENRY TUKE.

THE THIRD EDITION ENLARGED.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this compilation is threefold.

First, To bear, in this age of scepticism and infidelity, when many are swerving from the Christian faith, a public testimony to the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and to the benefits derived to mankind thereby.

Secondly, To remove from the Society of which I am a member, the suggestions and imputations of unsoundness in this great point of Christian doctrine, which have at times been cast upon it.

Thirdly, To manifest, by clear and indisputable testimonies, to such of our own members as have not maturely considered the subject, what our uniform and acknowledged principles are; that they may be the more upon their guard against any persons, who may endeavour to draw them from the stability of faith.

It appears to me to be a time, wherein true believers in Christ, of all denominations, should unite in the support of our holy religion; but whilst we are carefully endea-

vouring to maintain the Truth as it is in Jesus, and even willing to contend, when occasion requires, for that faith, which was once delivered to the saints, let us also be especially careful to adorn the gospel of Christ with a consistent conduct, regulated by that grace and truth which are come by Him, in whom we all profess to believe. Without this we bear but a very imperfect testimony to the superior excellence of the gospel dispensation, give its enemies an opportunity to defame it, and prove ourselves to be like the foolish builder upon the sandy foundation, to whom our blessed Redeemer compared those who heard his sayings, but did them not.

Nevertheless, the truth of Christianity does not depend upon the conduct of its professors; for however inconsistent this may be, yet the excellency of the Christian faith, and the purity of its precepts, will ever bear a strong and unequivocal testimony against the conduct of those who hold the Truth in unrighteousness. Let none therefore, from the weakness or wickedness of mankind, condemn a religion, the best calculated of any for the correction of these evils, and for our redemption from them; and which is indeed peculiarly adapted to the nature of a Being prone to sin, and encompassed with many infirmities; but who is at the same time called to glory and to virtue, and designed for that life and immortality which are brought to light by the gospel.

The misapprehensions which have been entertained respecting our Faith in Christ, appear to me to have arisen, not so much from a difference of belief, as from laying more stress on different points of Christian doctrine. We believe with other Christians, as will appear from the following compilation, in the great and leading truths of Christianity: but whilst some of its professors are principally inculcating a faith in the benefits to be received from our blessed Saviour's life and death, and in that which he has done for us without us; we, fully believing all those essential truths, think it of the utmost importance to draw the attention of men to that divine light or Spirit, by which the work of salvation is to be carried forward in us, and for us, and, in some measure, by us. This being a work which requires our constant attention, we are principally concerned to inculcate a belief in, and a dependance on, this divine Spirit, as that from which "all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works, do proceed," and by which we are rendered acceptable to God, through Jesus Christ.

The following quotations are but a small part of what might have been adduced on this occasion; but it is apprehended, they will be amply sufficient to manifest the uniformity of our principles on the subject, and their agreement with the doctrines of the New Testament. They will also evince our belief in the Holy Scriptures;

which we consider, with the apostle, as 'able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' And whilst I feel anxious for the preservation of this faith, both with respect to the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, for the redemption of mankind; and to that glory which he had with the Father before the world began; I am also earnestly solicitous, that all who make this profession, may likewise believe in, and receive him, in his inward and spiritual appearance, by which he enlightens our understandings, and purifies our hearts. Thus shall we become partakers of 'the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ;' and know 'what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ within, the hope of glory.'

THE

FAITH

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, &c.

IN producing the testimonies of our Friends on this occasion, an attention will be generally paid to the order of time in which they were written.

The first extracts which I shall make are from the Journal of *George Fox;* and as he was made instrumental in gathering us to be a people, and is generally considered as the founder of our Society, his testimony may have the more weight.

George Fox's Journal, p. 3, 3d edit.—'The Priest of Drayton, the town of my birth, whose name was Nathaniel Stevens, asked me, why Christ cried out upon the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And why he said, "if it be possible let this cup pass from me; yet not my will, but thine, be done." I told him, at that time the sins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions, with which he was wounded; which he was to bear, and to be an offering for, as he was

man; but died not, as he was God: so, in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings. The Priest said it was a very good full answer, and such a one as he had not heard.'

In a publication about the year 1675, entitled, "A Testimony of what we believe of Christ," George Fox expresses himself thus: — 'The Apostle speaking of the Fathers saith, "Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God over all, blessed for ever, Amen."—This was the Apostle's doctrine to the Church then, which we do witness, both as to his flesh, and as he was God.'

George Fox's Journal, p. 434. In a paper addressed to the Governor of Barbadoes, he expresses himself thus: 'We own and believe in Jesus Christ, his (God's) beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature; by whom were all things created that are in heaven, and that are

in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities, or powers; all things were created by Him. And we do own and believe, that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; and that he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried, and rose again the third day, by the power of his Father, for our justification; and that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we do believe there is no other foundation to be laid, but that which is laid, even Jesus Christ; who tasted death for every man; shed his blood for all men; is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.'

Isaac Pennington, in a publication entitled, 'The Sum and Substance of our Religion,' mentions the following objection, which had been made, and replies thereto. See vol. 1, p. 694, quarto edit. of his works.

'It is objected against us who are called Quakers, that we deny Christ, and look not to be saved by him, as he was manifested without us; but look only to be saved by a Christ within us;

to which, this is in my heart to answer to such as singly desire satisfaction therein.

'We do indeed expect to be saved by the revelation and operation of the life of Christ within us; yet not without relation to what he did without us; for all that he did in that body of flesh was of the Father, and had its place and service in the will, and according to the counsel, of the Father.'

In another treatise, entitled, 'Flesh and blood of Christ,' &c. he expresses himself thus: vol. 2, p. 256.

'Now as touching the outward, which ye say we deny, because of our testimony to the inward, I have frequently given a most solemn testimony thereunto; and God knoweth it to be the truth of my heart, and that the testifying to the inward doth not make the outward void, but rather establish it in its place and service. God himself, who knew what virtue was in the inward, yet hath pleased to make use of the outward; and who may contradict and slight his wisdom and counsel therein? Glorious was the appearance and manifestation of his Son in the flesh; precious his subjection and holy obedience to his Father; and his giving himself up to death for sinners was

of great esteem in his Father's eye; it was a spotless sacrifice of great value, and effectual for the remission of sins; and I do acknowledge humbly unto the Lord, the remission of my sins thereby, and bless the Lord for it; even for giving up his Son to death for us all, and giving all that believe in his name and power, to partake of remission of sins through him.'

William Smith, in 'A New Catechism,' printed in the year 1664, expresses himself as follows:

'We believe that all things which are spoken by the holy prophets and apostles concerning Christ, are true, according to the Scriptures. We believe, that all the dispensations of God which are manifested by the Scriptures, are altogether true; and that they were fulfilled according to the determinate will and counsel of God; so that our faith concerning Christ in us, and the work which he there worketh for us, doth not at all make void any of the dispensations of God, which in times past were revealed to his holy prophets and apostles, and by them testified in the Scriptures; so that the work, which the Father then gave the Son to do, we believe that he fulfilled, according to the Father's will; and that all things pertaining to life and salvation, were fully and perfectly in him; and that he humbled himself to the death

of the cross, and from death did rise again. And we believe that he is the resurrection and the life, and gives eternal life to all that believe in him.'

In 1671, *George Whitehead* and *William Penn*, published 'A Serious Apology,' in which is this full and explicit declaration of their faith:

'We do believe in one holy God Almighty, who is an eternal Spirit, the Creator of all things; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only Son, and express image of his substance; who took upon him flesh, and was in the world; and in life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension, and mediation, perfectly did, and does continue to do, the will of God; to whose holy life, power, mediation, and blood, we only ascribe our sanctification, justification, redemption, and perfect salvation. And we believe in one holy Spirit, that proceeds from the Father and the Son, a measure of which is given to all to profit with; and he that has one, has all, for those three are One, who is the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.'

Again, William Penn, in his 'Primitive Christianity,' chap. VIII. sect. 4. expresses himself thus:

'Justification consists of two parts—justification from the guilt of sin, and justification from the

power and pollution of sin. The first part of justification we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the sake of the death and sufferings of Christ; nothing we can do, though by the operation of the Holy Spirit, being able to cancel old debts, or to wipe out old scores. It is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon faith and repentance, that justifies us from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's Spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God.'

Chap. IX. sect. 1. 'Lest any should say we are equivocal in our expressions, and allegorize away Christ's appearance in the flesh; meaning only thereby our own flesh, and that as often as we mention him, we mean only a mystery, or a mystical sense of him, be it as to his coming, birth, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation, and judgment; I would add, to preserve the well-disposed from being staggered by such suggestions, and to inform and reclaim such as are under the power of prejudice, that we do (we bless God) religiously believe and confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, that Jesus Christ took our nature upon him, and was

made like unto us in all things, sin excepted; that he was born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor; was crucified, dead, and buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea; rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, in the power and majesty of his Father, who will one day judge the world by him, even that blessed man Christ Jesus, according to their works.'

In a publication, entitled 'A Testimony to the Truth of God,' William Penn again explains himself on this subject.

'Because we press the necessity of people's receiving the inward and spiritual appearance of the divine Word, in order to a right and beneficial application of whatsoever he (Christ) did for man, with respect to his life, miracles, death, sufferings, resurrection, ascension, and mediation, our adversaries would have us deny any Christ without us; first, as to his Divinity, because they make us to confine him within us; secondly, as to his humanity, or manhood, because, as he was the son of Abraham, David, and Mary, according to the flesh, he cannot be in us; and therefore we are heretics and blasphemers. Whereas we

believe him, according to Scripture, to be the son of Abraham, David, and Mary, after the flesh; and also, God over all, blessed for ever.'

In the year 1692, William Penn published 'A Key opening the Way to distinguish between the Quakers Religion and Perversions of it;' in which, in answer to the charge, that 'the Quakers deny the Trinity,' he replies thus: 'Nothing less. They believe in the Holy Three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to Scripture, and that these three are truly and properly one; of one nature as well as will: but they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms and phrases for Schoolmen's, such as distinct and separate persons and subsistences, &c. from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'

Robert Barclay, the apologist, published in the year 1673, 'A Catechism and Confession of Faith;' in which he treats fully of those points of Christian doctrine here set forth. I shall extract the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles, which are, as well as the rest, expressed nearly in the words of Scripture, that they may be the less liable to objection.

'Article 4th. Concerning the Divinity of Christ, and his being from the beginning.'

'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; the same was in the beginning with God; all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. For God created all things by Jesus Christ, who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God. And his name is called Wonderful, Counseller, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature.'

'Article 5th. Concerning his appearance in the flesh.'

'The Word was made flesh; for he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham, being in all things made like unto his brethren; touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and in all things tempted like as we are, yet without sin. He died for our sins, according to the Scriptures, and he was buried, and he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.'

'Article 6th. Concerning the end and use of that appearance.'

'God sent his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh; and, for sin, condemned sin in the flesh. For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil; being manifested to take away our sins. For he gave himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God, for a sweet smelling savour, having obtained eternal redemption for us; and through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot unto God, to purge our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God. He was the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Of him the fathers did all drink, for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ. Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; for we are to bear about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body; being always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our flesh; that we may know him, and the power of his resurrection, being made conformable unto his death.'

'Article 7th. Concerning the inward manifestation of Christ.'

'God dwelleth with the contrite and humble in spirit; for he hath said, He will dwell in them, and walk in them; and Christ standeth at the door and knocketh: if any man hear his voice, and open the door, he will come into him, sup with him, and he with Him. Therefore ought we to examine our ownselves, knowing how that Christ is in us, except we are reprobates. For this is the riches of the glory of the mystery, which God would make known among the Gentiles, Christ within, the hope of glory.'

In the conclusion of this publication, R. B. shows the errors of various religious denominations, and speaking of the Socinians, he manifests clearly his disapprobation of their denial of the Divinity of Christ.—His words are, 'Among the Protestants, I know the Socinians are great pretenders to the Scriptures, and in words as much exalt them as any other people; and yet it is strange to see how, that not only in many things they are not agreeable to them, but in some of their chief principles quite contrary; as in their denying the Divinity of Christ, which is as expressly mentioned as any thing can be: *And the word was God*, John 1. as also in denying his

being from the beginning, against the very tenor of that of John 1. and divers others, as at large is shewn in the third chapter of this treatise.

In his Apology, when treating on the light or Spirit of Christ, Prop. v. and vi. S. 15. he expresses himself thus: 'We do not hereby intend any way to lessen or derogate from the atonement and sacrifice of Jesus Christ, but on the contrary do magnify and exalt it. For as we believe all these things to have been certainly transacted which are recorded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ; so we do also believe, that it is the duty of every one to believe it, to whom it pleases God to reveal the same, and to bring them to the knowledge of it. As we firmly believe it was necessary, that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer himself up a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his ownself bare our sins in his own body on the tree, so we believe that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise; for it is by the obedience of one that the free gift is come upon all to justification.'

After the foregoing quotations from the writings of our ancient Friends, I shall give a few

extracts from our later writers, to manifest that the principles of the Society have undergone no change in this important subject.

In the year 1723, *Thomas Beaven* published 'An Essay concerning the Restoration of primitive Christianity.' In chap. 2d, he thus expresses himself:

'God did, upon the fall and disobedience of man, inform him of a Saviour, as is generally understood by these words, viz. "I will put enmity between thee (the serpent) and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head." Which seed, here called the seed of the woman, (because, as concerning the flesh in the fulness of time, Christ was to be born of a woman) did doubtless then exist, when this promise was made, and had done so, as to his Divinity, from eternity.'

'In due time this seed took flesh in the womb of the virgin Mary, according to the Scripture; was born in Bethlehem in the land of Judea; did many mighty miracles among the Jews, to convince them that he was the promised Messiah, whose coming they were then in full expectation of; lived a most exemplary life; taught a most

excellent and heavenly doctrine, recorded by the four evangelists; submitted to the shameful death of the cross, to make atonement and propitiation for the sins of the whole world. He was buried, and on the third day rose again from the dead, according to the Scriptures; and was conversant with his disciples about forty days, concerning the things of God, and the great work he had for them to do in this world. Then he was taken up into heaven; and set at the right hand of God the Father, where he ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him; by whom God will judge the world in righteousness, in the day he hath appointed, when all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of condemnation.'

In the years 1730, 1731, and 1732, *Alexander Arscott* published, in three parts, 'Considerations of the present State of the Christian Religion,' from which the following extract is made:

'Christ, the author of the Christian Religion, is to be considered under a two-fold character; as man, who was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead,

and buried; and, as God, in which sense he was in the beginning, before all worlds, and is called in Scripture, the Word, the Wisdom, and Power of God. In the first sense he was, and is, outward; in the last, he fills all things, and is present every where; more especially, considered in that relation he bears to mankind, as their Saviour and sanctifier, is present in the hearts of men, to quicken and enlighten them for their assistance in the work of repentance, conversion, sanctification, regeneration, and complete salvation.'

'And as what Christ did and suffered for mankind, was necessary, by the appointment of God the Father, for their reconciliation to him, notwithstanding their sins and trespasses against him; so his presence with them and in them, is as necessary for their overcoming sin, and bringing them into a state of holiness and acceptance with him; and this last is as truly a part of the Christian religion as the first; and both taken together, make up the whole entire Christian religion; and therefore when we speak or write of it, we mean that religion which has relation to Christ in both the senses, or else we do not take in the whole idea of it, but a part only.'

In the year 1773, *Joseph Phipps* was engaged in a controversy with a person, who had attacked

the principles of the society; and in a publication entitled, 'The Original and Present State of Man,' &c. he draws a comparison betwixt the miracles attending the introduction of the legal, and those of the Christian dispensation. After speaking of the former, he proceeds thus:

'Accordingly the gracious dispensation of the gospel was introduced by evidences of divine authority equally extraordinary, and equally suited to its placid and salutary nature.'

'Besides the numerous predictions of the prophets concerning the Messiah, the advent of his forerunner the Baptist, and the miraculous conception of our Saviour by the blessed virgin, witness the many wonderful works he performed, the unaccountable darkness, and the rending of the veil of the temple throughout, from top to bottom, at his giving up the ghost; his astonishing resurrection, and that of the bodies of buried saints, which arose and went into the city; and his visible ascension, attended with the glorious ministration of angels. After all this, at the time of the Jewish feast of Pentecost, the apostles and disciples being assembled together, according to the Lord's command, the Holy Ghost gave a twofold demonstration of its advent; first, by the

appearance of cloven tongues, as of fire, which sat upon each of them; second, by filling their hearts with the Holy Ghost, to such a degree that they began to speak with other tongues, or in other languages besides their own, as the Spirit gave them utterance. To divers of them were likewise added, the miraculous powers of healing all manner of diseases; the dumb were made to speak, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the blind to see; demoniacs were dispossessed, and the dead were raised and restored to life.'

I shall now add a few testimonies from the Society more at large, in order to show that we speak the same thing, both collectively and separately. The first is from a paper, entitled 'The Quakers Vindication,' which was presented to the Members of Parliament in 1693; and which contains the principles of the Society at this day.

'We whose names are underwritten, being in Christian Society with the people called Quakers, do, in good conscience, declare, and certify all persons concerned:

'1st. That we sincerely believe and confess, that Jesus of Nazareth, who was born of the

Virgin Mary, is the true Messiah, the very Christ, the Son of the living God, to whom all the prophets gave witness. And we do highly value his death, sufferings, works, offices, and merits, for the redemption and salvation of mankind, together with his laws, doctrines, and ministry.

'2. That this very Christ of God was and is the Son of God, that takes away the sins of the world; who was slain and is alive, and lives for evermore, in his divine, eternal glory, dominion, and power, with the Father.

'And we know of no other doctrine or principles preached, maintained, or ever received among or by us, since we were a people, contrary to these aforesaid.

'Signed on behalf of the said people by thirty-one Friends.'

The following are some advices, which were issued by the Yearly Meeting in London, in 1728 and 1732. There are several others from the said meeting, of the same tendency.

1728. 'Inasmuch as the Holy Scriptures are the external means of conveying and preserving to us, an account of the things most surely to be

believed, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh, and the fulfilling of the prophecies relating thereto; we therefore recommend to all Friends, especially elders in the church and masters of families, that they would, both by example and advice, impress on the minds of the younger, a reverent esteem of those sacred writings, and advise them to a frequent reading and meditating therein; and that you would, at proper seasons, give the youth to understand, that the same good experience of the work of sanctification, through the operation of the Spirit of God, which the Holy Scriptures plentifully bear testimony to, is to be witnessed by believers in all generations, as well as by those in the first ages of Christianity. And this we recommend as the most effectual means of begetting and establishing in their minds a firm belief of the Christian doctrine in general, as well as the necessity of the help of the operations of the Holy Spirit of God in the hearts of men in particular, contained in that most excellent book the Bible; and for preserving them from being defiled with the many pernicious notions and principles, contrary to such sound doctrine, which are at this time industriously dispersed in the nation, to the reproach of the Christian profession in general.'

In 1732. 'Dear friends, we tenderly and earnestly advise and exhort all parents and masters of families, that they exert themselves in the wisdom of God, and in the strength of his love, to instruct their children and families in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, contained in the Holy Scriptures; and that they excite them to the diligent reading of those sacred writings; which plainly set forth the miraculous conception, birth, holy life, wonderful works, blessed example, meritorious death, and glorious resurrection, ascension, and mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and to educate their children in the belief of those important truths, as well as in the belief of the inward manifestation and operation of the Spirit of God upon their own minds; that they may reap the benefit and advantage thereof, for their own peace and everlasting happiness, which is preferable to all other considerations. We therefore exhort in the most earnest manner, that all be very careful in this respect, a neglect herein being in our judgment very blame-worthy.'

A publication was lately issued by the direction of the Meeting for Sufferings; which meeting is composed of Friends appointed by all the Quarterly Meetings in the kingdom. The book

is entitled, 'A Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of Friends.' In this work are the following passages:

'We agree with other professors of the Christian name, in the belief of One Eternal God, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe; and in Jesus Christ his Son, the Messiah and Mediator of the new covenant.'

'When we speak of the gracious display of the love of God to mankind, in the miraculous conception, birth, life, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, we prefer the use of such terms as we find in Scripture; and, contented with that knowledge which divine wisdom has seen meet to reveal, we attempt not to explain those mysteries which remain under the veil; nevertheless we acknowledge and assert the Divinity of Christ, who is the wisdom and power of God unto salvation.'

To the preceding written testimonies of this people, on their faith in our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, it may be proper to add a few from the dying expressions of persons, who were members of the Society.

JOHN WOOLMAN, of New Jersey in America, who has rendered his name famous as a friend to

the African race and an enemy to slavery, visited England in the year 1772, and died at York of the small pox*. Among many religious observations made by him, during his illness, he expressed himself thus, about two days before his decease: 'My dependence is on the Lord Jesus, who I trust will forgive my sins, which is all I hope for; and if it be his will to raise up this body again I am content, and if to die, I am resigned.'

SARAH GRUBB, wife of Robert Grubb of Clonmell, in Ireland, died in 1790. Having lately returned from a journey on the continent of Europe, she wrote thus to a friend, four days before her decease: 'My soul, though encompassed with the manifold infirmities of a very afflicted tabernacle, can feelingly worship, and rejoice in nothing more than this, that the Lamb immaculate is still redeeming, by his precious blood, out of every nation, kindred, tongue, and people; and making a glorious addition to the church triumphant, whose names will stand eternally recorded in the book of life. I express not these things from a redundancy of heavenly virtue, but from the soul sustaining evidence, that amidst all

* See an account of him in Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

our weakness and conflicts of flesh or spirit, an interest is mercifully granted in *Him*, who giveth victory over death, hell, and the grave.'

Job Thomas, of Wales, died in the year 1807. He had been about 10 years affected with a disorder in the spine, brought on by a fall. His pains were often excruciating; but he bore them with remarkable patience. On the day of his death he expressed himself thus: 'The blessed hour is approaching, and before the close of this day, I shall safely arrive where there is neither toil nor trouble. Sorrow not for me; I have hope in his mercy who has washed me in that fountain which is set open for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem; not through mine own righteousness, but through the righteousness of the crucified Immanuel, who died for the sins of all mankind. I am going to endless joys; there I shall have to praise him, who enabled me patiently to endure the inexpressible pain wherewith this poor body has been afflicted.'

I shall conclude these quotations and references with the following Hymn, which was written about the year 1740, by Elijah Waring, of Witney, in Oxfordshire, a minister in our Society. It is entitled,

Divine Love commemorated.

Who can fathom the redeeming
Act of universal love?
Human thought, though ever teeming,
Yet will insufficient prove.

Holy Angels, ever lauding
Of the great and wond'rous scheme;
Seraphs, hymning and applauding,
Never can exhaust the theme.

Oh the height and depth surprising!
Oh the length and breadth, how great!
Generations, past and rising,
Will the bliss participate.

Sure the Father's love was burning,
To poor lost and helpless man,
Anxious for his safe returning,
Laid the mediatorial plan.

Nor less was our Saviour's merit,
Who severe obedience paid;
Died t' obtain the Holy Spirit,
For his creature's help and aid.

Now above makes intercession,
That the penitential mind,
Who makes unreserv'd confession,
And reforms, may pardon find.

Wretched man! if such caressing
Work not on thy brutal heart;
If thou spurn'st the heavenly bles
Thou in it wilt have no part.

Blame thy conduct, charge not heaven;
On thy head thy blood will lie.
Ev'ry help to thee is given,
Suiting man's free agency.

Do not, for a moment's pleasure,
Forfeit this, thy dear bought right,
To the joy and endless treasure,
That the gospel brought to light.

Use thy reason; grace assisting
Ev'ry facnlty within;
Thou shalt know a brave resisting,
All the deadly pow'rs of sin.

Taste religion's chaste embraces;
Faith with genuine works adorn:
Virtue has eternal graces,
Fresh and blooming ev'ry morn.

All her joy's beyond expressing;
Peace, that yields a golden crop;
She's in life the greatest blessing,
And, in death, the grateful drop.

Wing thy soul, and qualify her
For the converse held above;
Dip thy tongue, and join the choir,
In melodious strains of love.

Utterly disclaiming merit,
Praise the Father and the Son,
Jointly with the Holy Spirit;
An eternal Three in One.

Printed by C. Peacock, York.

SELECT PASSAGES

FROM THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES;

CONTAINING A SUMMARY OF

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL INSTRUCTION,

PROPER TO BE COMMITTED TO MEMORY

BY YOUNG PERSONS.

Compiled by HENRY TUKE.

Train up a child in the way he should go. *Prov.* xxii. 6.

THIRD EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE propriety of early impressing the human mind with religious and moral truths, is so generally admitted, as to render it unnecessary to say much on the subject; and though an immediate benefit may not always arise from committing these truths to memory, yet it may be compared to the sowing of seed, which is expected to produce fruit at a future season; or, to use a scripture metaphor, to casting bread upon the waters, which will be found after many days.

The compiler of this work is aware of some advantages, which arise from the catechetical mode of instruction above that which is here used; but several considerations have induced him to adopt a simple declaration from the high authority of the Holy Scriptures. These declarations are not likely to be controverted by Christians, and those given in this work are generally, if not wholly, such whose meaning is simple and obvious. Besides, questions should be put by persons in some degree competent to explain the subject, and whose principles and conduct are not inconsistent with it. This is not always the case with parents and others who have the education of children, and who, notwithstanding their own defects, may be desirous that the youth under

their care should be properly instructed. Some parents also are so diffident of their own qualifications, as to shrink from the mode of instruction by question and answer; and there are some children, to whom a more direct mode of instruction is better adapted. From these considerations, the compiler has been induced to adopt this mode of conveying instruction; but he, by no means, wishes to discourage the other by question and answer, which, when properly conveyed, must, he conceives, in general, leave a more lasting impression on the youthful mind.

In composing this work, care has been taken to select such passages as appeared most appropriate to the subject, though in the large choice which the scriptures afford, the selection has sometimes been difficult. In a very few instances it has been thought proper, for the sake of perspicuity, to deviate a little from the words of the text; but these instances are very few, and, in no case, has the sense been intentionally altered, or the passage applied contrary to its original meaning.

It will probably be noticed, that a gradation is generally observed in treating the different subjects: for instance, in Chapter I. after the existence of God, and the creation of all things by Him, his unity, spirituality, eternity, and other attributes are pointed out; and a similar order is observed

through the whole, as much as the different subjects would permit. The division into short Chapters, with the sentences numbered, it is supposed, will make it more easy to remember the passages contained in this compilation.

But though the committing of each sentence to memory, is the design of the compiler, yet there may be some children, to whom this would be so difficult, as to form special cases of exception to the general plan. With regard to such children, a frequent and attentive perusal may best accomplish the object of the work; which is, to instil into the youthful mind feelings of piety towards God, and of benevolence towards man; and to inculcate the practice of those virtues which make us useful and respectable in this life, and fit us for an inheritance hereafter "among all them who are sanctified."

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CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING GOD.

1. HE that created all things is God. *Heb.* iii. 4.

2. The Lord our God is one Lord. *Deut.* vi. 4.

3. God is a Spirit. *John* iv. 24.

4. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world; even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. *Psalm* xc. 2.

5. The work of God is perfect, for all his ways are judgment; a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is He. *Deut.* xxxii. 4.

6. The Lord is a God of knowledge, and by him actions are weighed. 1 *Sam.* ii. 3.

7. Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places, that I should not see him? Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord? *Jer.* xxiii. 23, 24.

8. The Lord God omnipotent reigneth. *Rev.* xix. 6.

9. The Lord is slow to anger, and great in power, and will not at all acquit the wicked.
Nahum i. 3.

10. The Lord is righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works. *Psalm* cxlv. 17.

11. The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works. *Psalm* cxlv. 9.

12. Thy mercy, O Lord! is in the heavens, and thy faithfulness reacheth unto the clouds; thy righteousness is like the great mountains; thy judgments are a great deep. *Psalm* xxxvi. 5, 6.

CHAPTER II.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.
Dan. iv. 17.

2. He is the Governor among the nations.
Psalm xxii. 28.

3. The very hairs of our head are all numbered [by him.] *Matt.* x. 30.

4. How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. *Psalm* xxxvi. 7.

5. O Lord! thou preservest man and beast.
Psalm xxxvi. 6.

6. Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised; and his greatness is unsearchable. *Psalm* cxlv. 3.

7. Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? *Job* xi. 7.

8. O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God: how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out.
Rom. xi. 33.

9. Who is like unto thee, O Lord! who is like thee; glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders. *Exod.* xv. 11.

10. Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God Almighty! just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints! *Rev.* xv. 3.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING CHRIST.

1. God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets; hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things; by whom also he made the worlds.
Heb. i. 1, 2.

2. God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.
John iii. 16.

3. His name is called, the Word of God.
Rev. xix. 13.

4. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the word was God: the same was in the beginning with God. *John* i. 1, 2.

5. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men.
John i. 3, 4.

6. The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. *John* i. 14.

7. As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so, by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous. *Rom.* v. 19.

8. As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. 1 *Cor.* xv. 22.

9. It behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations. *Luke* xxiv. 46, 47.

10. When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. *Ephes.* iv. 8.

11. To this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. *Rom.* xiv. 9.

12. This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.
John xvii. 3.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 *Tim.* i. 15.

2. God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself. 2 *Cor.* v. 19.

3. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. 1 *John* iii. 8.

4. Jesus Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. *Titus* ii. 14.

5. There is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. 1 *Tim.* ii. 5.

6. If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. 1 *John* ii. 1, 2.

7. He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. *Heb.* vii. 25.

8. Such a High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens. *Heb.* vii. 26.

9. Christ hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour. *Ephes.* v. 2.

10. Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us Kings and Priests unto God; to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. *Rev.* i. 5, 6.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING THE HOLY SPIRIT.

1. What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. 1 *Cor.* ii. 11.

2. We have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us by God. 1 *Cor.* ii. 12.

3. If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. *Rom.* viii. 9.

4. A manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. 1 *Cor.* xii. 7.

5. As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. *Rom.* viii. 14.

6. The Spirit helpeth our infirmities. *Rom.* viii. 26.

7. We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us. *Rom.* viii. 26.

8. God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father. *Gal.* iv. 6.

9. Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. *Gal.* v. 16.

10. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such [things] there is no law. *Gal.* v. 22, 23.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURES.

1. The holy scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. 2 *Tim.* iii. 15.

2. Whatsoever things were written afore-time were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. *Rom.* xv. 4.

3. All these things are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. 1 *Cor.* x. 11.

4. Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. 2 *Peter* i. 21.

5. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. 2 *Tim.* iii. 16.

6. In the epistles of Paul are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction. 2 *Peter* iii. 16.

7. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. *Psalm* xix. 8, 9.

8. Teach me, O Lord! the way of thy statutes, and I shall keep it unto the end. *Psalm* cxix. 33.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING A FUTURE STATE, WITH REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.

1. The dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.
Eccles. xii. 7.

2. God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil. *Eccles.* xii. 14.

3. God will render to every man according to his deeds. *Rom.* ii. 6.

4. To them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, [will be given] eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness;—indignation, and wrath. *Rom.* ii. 7, 8.

5. This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.
1 *Cor.* xv. 53.

6. Life and immortality are brought to light through the gospel. 1 *Tim.* i. 10.

7. We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. 2 *Cor.* v. 1.

8. Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.
Rev. xxii. 14.

9. The city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.
Rev. xxi. 23.

10. There shall in no wise enter into it, any thing that defileth, that worketh abomination, or maketh a lie; but they who are written in the Lamb's book of life. *Rev.* xxi. 27.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES AND DUTIES.

1. All have sinned and come short of the glory of God. *Rom.* iii. 23.

2. If we say that we have not sinned, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. 1 *John* i. 8, 10.

3. Repent ye and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out. *Acts* iii. 19.

4. Bring forth fruits meet for repentance. *Matt.* iii. 8.

5. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. 1 *John* i. 9.

6. Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. *Matt.* xviii. 3.

7. Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Spirit, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Titus* iii. 5, 6.

8. Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11.

9. The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. *Titus* ii. 11, 12.

10. By grace ye are saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God. *Ephes.* ii. 8.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. Without faith it is impossible to please God. *Heb.* xi. 6.

2. He that cometh unto God must believe that He is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. *Heb.* xi. 6.

3. Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. *Heb.* xi. 1.

4. The just shall live by faith. *Rom.* i. 17.

5. This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent. *John* vi. 29.

6. Ye are the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. *Gal.* iii. 26.

7. Faith without works is dead. *James* ii. 26.

8. Trust in the Lord with all thy heart: and lean not to thy own understanding. *Prov.* iii. 5.

9. Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is. *Jer.* xvii. 7.

10. Trust ye in the Lord for ever; for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. *Isa.* xxvi. 4.

CHAPTER X.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. *Psalm* cxi. 10.

2. Let all the earth fear the Lord; let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him. *Psalm* xxxiii. 8.

3. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. *Deut.* vi. 5.

4. This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments. 1 *John* v. 3.

5. Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. *Matt.* xxvi. 41.

6. Be ye sober, and watch unto prayer. 1 *Peter* iv. 7.

7. O, that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! *Psalm* cvii. 8.

8. Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgments is come; and worship Him that made heaven and earth, the sea and the fountains of water. *Rev.* xiv. 7.

9. Exalt ye the Lord our God and worship at his footstool; not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is. *Psalm* xcix. 5. *Heb.* x. 25.

10. Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God, for ever and ever. *Rev.* vii. 12.

CHAPTER XI.

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND DUTIES.

1. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. *Matt.* vii. 12.

2. Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him. *Levit.* xix. 13.

3. Ye shall do no unrighteousness in weight, or in measure. *Levit.* xix. 35.

4. A false balance is abomination to the Lord; but a just weight is his delight. *Prov.* xi. 1.

5. Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another. *Levit.* xix. 11.

6. Neither thieves nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God. 1 *Cor.* vi. 10.

7. Lying lips are abomination to the Lord; but they that deal truly are his delight. *Prov.* xii. 22.

8. Put away lying, and speak every man truth to his neighbour. *Ephes.* iv. 25.

9. What shall be given unto thee, or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue? *Ps.* cxx. 3.

10. All liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death. *Rev.* xxi. 8.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. *Levit.* xix. 18.

2. Love one another with a pure heart fervently. 1 *Peter* i. 22.

3. Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful. *Luke* vi. 36.

4. Have compassion one of another; love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous. 1 *Peter* iii. 8.

5. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. *Heb.* xii. 14.

6. Be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another; even as God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven you. *Ephes.* iv. 32.

7. If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father who is in heaven forgive your trespasses. *Matt.* vi. 14.

8. Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. *Ps.* xli. 1.

9. To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. *Heb.* xiii. 16.

10. Use hospitality one to another without grudging. 1 *Peter* iv. 9.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. Do all things without murmurings and disputings. *Philip.* ii. 14.

2. Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory, but, in lowliness of mind, let each esteem others better than himself. *Philip.* ii. 3.

3. Pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall. *Prov.* xvi. 18.

4. Every one that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lord. *Prov.* xvi. 5.

5. Ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder; yea, all of you be subject one unto another, and be clothed with humility. 1 *Peter* v. 5.

6. God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. *Ibid.*

7. Thus saith the high and lofty one, that inhabiteth eternity, and whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit; to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones. *Isaiah* lvii. 15.

8. Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry; for anger resteth in the bosom of fools. *Eccles.* vii. 9.

9. A meek and quiet spirit is in the sight of God of great price. 1 *Peter* iii. 4.

10. He will beautify the meek with salvation.
Psalm cxlix. 4.

11. The meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.
Psalm xxxvii. 11.

12. Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.
Coloss. iii. 12, 13.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SAME SUBJECT.

1. Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God. 1 *Cor.* x. 31.

2. Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.
Prov. xx. 1.

3. Flee youthful lusts. Keep thyself pure.
2 *Tim.* ii. 22. 1 *Tim.* v. 22.

4. Evil communications corrupt good manners.
1 *Cor.* xv. 33.

5. Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying. *Ephes.* iv. 29.

6. Be not slothful in business. *Rom.* xii. 11.

7. Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise; which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in harvest. *Prov.* vi. 6, 7, 8.

8. Take heed and beware of covetousness; for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. *Luke* xii. 15.

9. Godliness with contentment is great gain; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. 1 *Tim.* vi. 6, 7.

10. Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain. *Prov.* xxx. 8, 9.

CHAPTER XV.

RELATIVE MORAL DUTIES.

1. Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. *Ephes.* vi. 1.

2. A wise son maketh a glad father; but a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother. *Prov.* x. 1.

3. The rod and reproof give wisdom; but a child left to himself bringeth his mother to shame. *Prov.* xxix. 15.

4. Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. *Ephes.* vi. 4.

5. Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. 1 *Peter* ii. 18.

6. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven. *Coloss.* iv. 1.

7. Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. *Coloss.* iii. 18.

8. Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them. *Coloss.* iii. 19.

9. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake. 1 *Peter* ii. 13.

10. Fear thou the Lord and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change. *Prov.* xxiv. 21.

11. When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked bear rule, the people mourn. *Prov.* xxix. 2.

12. He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 3.

CHAPTER XVI.

PRECEPTS PECULIAR TO YOUNG PERSONS.

1. Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them. *Eccles.* xii. 1.

2. Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth; and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thy eyes; but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment. *Eccles.* xi. 9.

3. It is good for a man, that he bear the yoke in his youth. *Lam.* iii. 27.

4. Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto, according to thy word. *Psalm* cxix. 9.

5. Exhort young men to be sober-minded. *Titus* ii. 6.

6. Teach the young women to be sober, discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good; that the word of God be not blasphemed. *Titus* ii. 4, 5.

7. Come, ye children, hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and

thy lips that they speak no guile; depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it; for the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers.

Psalm xxxiv. 11, *&c.* 1 *Peter* iii. 12, 13.

8. Thou, Solomon, my son, know thou the God of thy Father, and serve him with a perfect heart, and with a willing mind; for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever. 1 *Chron.* xxviii, 9.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENCOURAGEMENTS TO RELIGION AND VIRTUE.

1. The ways of wisdom are ways of pleasantness; and all her paths are peace. *Prov.* iii. 17.

2. Great peace have they that love thy law; and nothing shall offend them. *Psalm* cxix. 165.

3. A day in thy courts is better than a thousand [elsewhere]: I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than dwell in the tents of wickedness. *Psalm* lxxxiv. 10.

4. Thou hast put gladness in my heart, more than in the time when their corn and their wine increased. *Pslam* iv. 7.

5. Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart. *Psalm* xcvii. 11.

6. The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacle of the righteous. *Psalm* cxviii. 15.

7. Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stall; yet I will rejoice in the Lord; I will joy in the God of my salvation. *Hab.* iii. 17, 18.

8. Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. *1 Tim.* iv. 8.

9. Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth give I unto you: let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid. *John* xiv. 27.

10. The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus. *Philip.* iv. 7.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

1. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain.

4. Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord, thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter; thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.

5. Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

6. Thou shalt not kill.

7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

8. Thou shalt not steal.

9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

Exod. xx. *3 to* 17.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BEATITUDES.

1. Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

2. Blessed are they that mourn; for they shall be comforted.

3. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth.

4. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness; for they shall be filled.

5. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.

6. Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God.

7. Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God.

8. Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. *Matt.* v. 3 *to* 10.

CHAPTER XX.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen. *Matt.* vi. 9 *to* 13.

A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

HENRY TUKE.

By LINDLEY MURRAY.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH &c.

WHEN the ties of nature, and virtuous connexions, are dissolved by death, the dissolution is often attended with inexpressible anguish. But how much more deeply distressing, and, in many instances, how overwhelming, would these separations be, if they were considered as final; if the connexions were believed to be dissolved for ever? So mournful a persuasion, whatever degree of obscurity may attend the subject, is not the destitute condition of man. The Divine goodness has permitted us to hope, that if we labour to be faithful unto death, we shall not only

receive a crown of life, but be united again, in a holy and spiritual union, in purer and stronger bonds of love, to those who were justly dear to us in this mortal state. It may therefore be allowable, in the meantime, frequently to indulge the hope of this spiritual re-union, and to feel our hearts influenced by it. Our departed, pious friends, will not then be wholly lost to us, even in this life.

These considerations, with others which follow, appear to warrant the author of this Memoir, in producing some account of the exemplary life of his dear and excellent friend, Henry Tuke. To him, indeed, it can be of no consequence. He is far removed from the present transient scene; and is doubtless lodged in a mansion of eternal peace, where no praises or opinions of men can, in any degree, affect him. But to his numerous relatives and friends, to those who knew and loved him, the review of his well-spent life, the recollection of his amiable

qualities, and the testimonies borne to his many virtues; must prove both interesting and consolatory. And it may be hoped that, in the breast of every serious reader, the narrative will excite afresh the love of goodness, and a renewed desire to be united to that happy number, who, through faith and patience, rest from their labours, and inherit the Divine promises.

The subject of this Memoir was born in the year 1755, in the City of York, of pious and truly respectable parents. His natural disposition was lively and active. When a boy, though of an affectionate temper, he was quick of resentment, and often fearlessly engaged with his school-fellows in bodily contests. But when the gentle and forbearing principle of religion took possession of his heart, those resentful feelings were controlled, and brought under due government and direction. His warm and animated temperament, served afterwards to excite in him greater indignation against vice and in-

justice, and greater zeal and firmness in the pursuit of what he conceived to be right. It was about the thirteenth year of his age, that this decided and happy change appeared in his manners and conduct. His mind then received the impressions, which restrained its excesses; and which, doubtless, afforded him more true satisfaction than all his former indulgences.

About his seventh year he was deprived of his mother; but this loss was, a few years afterwards, eminently supplied by a wise and prudent step-mother, who exercised over him a truly affectionate and parental attention. He was indeed blessed with the guardianship of discreet and religious parents, who were deeply concerned for his improvement and welfare, in every point of view. He possessed also the inestimable benefit of the society, conversation, and example, of many friends who occasionally came under his observation; and particularly of those who were often, in the course of their religious travels, entertained at his father's house. Such a guarded education, and such privileges, could scarcely fail to impress his youthful and susceptible mind, with pious and virtuous sentiments; and to qualify him for that Divine influence, which is both the source and the support of every religious attainment. Ground thus prepared, and seed thus early sown, promise, sooner or later, a precious harvest; and this blessing attended the religious labours bestowed upon him.

He possessed an excellent understanding; and, when put to school, he made a quick and regular progress in learning, and became a great favourite with his master. Besides the usual attainments of an English education, in a boarding school kept at Sowerby, near Thirsk, by a Friend of the name of Ellerby, he studied the Latin and Greek languages; and though the advances which he made in these tongues, were not critically extensive, they were of considerable

use to him. They made him acquainted with the general principles and construction of languages, and prepared him for investigating more readily the rules and formation of his native tongue. They encouraged him to pursue his biblical studies; and enabled him to prosecute them with greater satisfaction to his own mind, than he could have done without this advantage; and they also qualified him the better to vindicate his religious sentiments, both in private conference, and in some of his publications. From the purity of his mind, it appears that these advantages were obtained, without incurring those taints and corruptions, which are too often the consequence of perusing some of the ancient classics, in their imperfect state of purification.

After he had finished at school, and on the death of his teacher at Sowerby, he kindly undertook to superintend the seminary, for the benefit of the widow; and he accordingly continued it

for a short time. This office contributed, doubtless, in no small degree, to fix his own acquirements, and still farther to improve himself: for those attentions which we employ in the instruction of others, naturally sharpen our own powers, and stimulate us to be fully competent to perform the duties which we have undertaken.

Whilst he was at Sowerby, he contracted a taste for the study of Physic; and he employed some of his leisure time in that science. But his father being desirous that he should assist him in his business, he returned to York, about the fifteenth year of his age; and came again under the care of his parents. He did not hesitate to give up his own inclinations; and applied himself with resolute diligence to his father's occupation. To relinquish an object which he appears to have had so much at heart, and to do it cheerfully, when he perceived that it did not accord with his father's views and wishes, was a strong proof of filial obedience;

and of respect for his superior judgment, concerning the most eligible mode of his son's future employment in life.

But though he steadily pursued his father's business, he found opportunity, by early rising and extraordinary exertion, to indulge, in a moderate degree, his turn for literature, and to retain and extend the classical knowledge he had acquired. Some of the persons with whom the nature of his business led him frequently to associate, were of a stamp far from being likely to promote, either his moral or intellectual improvement. And it may reasonably be supposed, that his taste for literature, and his industrious pursuit of useful knowledge, contributed, in no small degree, to elevate his mind above mean and debasing objects, and to preserve him from the contagion of vicious example. This desire of improvement also laid the foundation of his future extensive usefulness in society.—It is proper here to observe, that he possessed great

frankness of disposition, and a great desire to oblige; so that, during the period of his apprenticeship, he made himself very agreeable to the domestic circle, being remarkably ready to leave his favourite pursuits, when he could render assistance to any who required and wanted his aid.

His steady and industrious conduct induced his father, at a proper age, to take him into partnership; and he continued to prosper, and to grow in his attachment to the best things. In the twenty sixth year of his age, he entered into the married state; and it may be truly said, that he was a faithful and affectionate husband, and a kind and judicious father, greatly solicitous for the best interests of his children. Their dutiful, and respectful behaviour to him, and to their mother, and their conduct in life, must have been most grateful to his mind; and are striking proofs of his wise and tender guardianship over them.

For many years before his decease, his wife had been afflicted and confined, under great bodily weakness. But no pressure of his other concerns could interrupt or remit his attentions towards the beloved partner of his bosom. To make her comfortable, and to administer to her all the alleviations in his power, he considered not merely as incumbent upon him, but as the discharge of an obligation which afforded him peculiar satisfaction. In the performance of the religious duties which called him from home, his anxiety on leaving her in so feeble a state of health, was greatly mitigated by the cheerful and cordial manner, in which she met these views of his services; and by the encouragement and promotion of them, which she uniformly and actively afforded. Through life, and even to its latest period, he cherished and manifested great esteem and reverence towards his father, who loved and valued him in a high degree. A greater proof of this cannot be given than his expressions made a few hours before his decease:

"My dear father," said he, "how I have loved and revered thee! And now we are likely to part. But I am perfectly resigned to the will of my Heavenly Father."

For the greater part of his life, he was engaged in the holy vocation of a minister of the Gospel; and laboured earnestly, in great love and humility, to promote the happiness, both here and hereafter, of his fellow creatures. The truly humble and dedicated state of his mind under this engagement, might be shown by extracts from many of his letters: indeed it was evinced by a correspondent life and deportment. But it is particularly manifested by the following extract from a letter, which he wrote in the latter part of his life, and after he had been many years exercised in the office and labours of a Christian minister. It is, in several respects, a characteristic, and very instructive letter.

"I do not seem to have much to say, though I have taken up my pen to write thee a letter.

To tell thee that I love thee is, I hope, needless: I can also say that I sympathize with thee, in thy various exercises from within and without. But thus it behoves some to suffer, that they may be the better qualified to speak a word in due season to the weary traveller: and, patiently undergoing the various dispensations allotted in Infinite Wisdom, may experience them ultimately to terminate in the increase of joy and peace, in believing that faithful is He who hath promised, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee;" and "who also will do it."

"I have not been sorry for my little turn out with thee; though it has increasingly convinced me of my own weakness, which I sometimes think I sensibly feel to grow upon me; and am ready to indulge the apprehension, that the gift will be wholly taken from me. Indeed I never considered it necessarily a gift for life; and if it should be taken away without my fault, I believe I should not find it difficult to obtain the same

resignation, which is our duty on other occasions; and to acknowledge, "The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord." But be this as it may, one thing I find, which to be sure is rather unnatural, that the longer I live, the more I am reduced to that state, which breathes the language of, "Lord! I am a child;" sometimes with an addition like that of, "I cannot speak;" though at others, the more resigned language will prevail: "Take me, and lead me, where thou wouldest have me to go." And here I wish to center; and leave all to Him who doth all things right, and who, my small experience has taught me, is worthy to be served and obeyed in all things. Mayst thou witness the renewal of thy confidence in Him, who has put thee forth, and gone before thee; and who, I doubt not, will continue to make way for thee, as thy eye continues to be single unto Him, who has thus separated thee to his work and service."

Through the course of his religious life, he was eminently distinguished for his love to God and love to men, and for the virtues which flow from this Divine principle. Few men, even of religious characters, have lived more above the low and selfish propensities of our nature. He not only rejoiced in the religious welfare and progress of his friends; but he took pleasure in their temporal comforts and accommodations, and the various improvements of their external condition. He was indeed aware of the great danger of riches, and often spoke of them as incentives to self dependence, and forgetfulness of the Bountiful Giver; yet he knew that the good things of this life, are real blessings, when they are pursued and enjoyed with moderation, and possessed with humility and gratitude.

The writer of this Memorial thinks it will be agreeable to the reader, if he inserts a few traits of the character of this excellent person, which were sent to him by his son, at the writer's particular request. They relate to a part of the character with which he must have been most intimately acquainted. And the sentiments of such an informant, concerning a father, whom he so thoroughly knew, and so highly esteemed and loved, will doubtless be perused with peculiar interest and satisfaction.

"My dear father was remarkable for simplicity. He affected nothing. There appeared no fear about him, lest he should seem to be different from what he really was. His was not an assumed, but a child-like, spontaneous simplicity. His modesty too was of the same nature: he was not apt to advance inability, as an excuse for declining any useful undertaking. He was always ready to hear, and consider too, the opinions of persons, whom many, his inferiors in understanding, would have slighted. I have known many instances of his inquiring of, and listening to, persons of the most humble situations in life; and paying great attention to their

opinions, when he thought them correct. I never heard him use any professions of humility; and I never saw any act, in which pride, or selfishness, was predominant.

"He was naturally of a sanguine temperament. Religion did not destroy the natural character, but restricted and sanctified it. He was always zealous for good, and earnestly opposed to evil. Against those who espoused the latter, he was apt to use strong, and sometimes severe expressions: but when he was called upon to act towards such persons, he was an example of moderation. He was apt to speak quickly on sudden occasions, but was ever ready to hear any one's defence; and it would have been extremely difficult to have made him angry, or to have offended him, by any personal attack. I have known him receive, but I never knew him resent, a personal reflection, however unjust or severe. Here the power of religion on his mind, was strikingly evinced.

"Notwithstanding his warm and ardent disposition, he was not apt to form hasty friendships; and he was remarkable for the steadiness of his attachments, and for the zeal with which he studied to serve his friends, both in great, and in small matters. On subjects of little consequence, he was frequently inclined to favour and discuss new opinions: but in matters of importance, and especially in religion and the interests of his country, his principles were decided and steadfast.

"Though he was firmly attached to the principles of Christianity, as professed by the Society in which he was educated, yet he did not condemn those who differed from him. On the contrary, he used to say, that he thought a variety of opinions unavoidable, from the nature of our minds; that this variety operated usefully; and that the various parts of the Christian system were, by this means, more extensively exemplified: "The human mind," said he once to me, "seems not capacious enough, to embrace the fulness of the blessings of the Gospel."

"In the exercise of the ministerial office, it was evident that he preached his Master, not himself. He used the words of Scripture more than many persons: and his use of them proved that no words are better adapted to arouse the indifferent, encourage the diffident, strengthen the weak, and comfort the afflicted. He frequently illustrated very clearly the grand, fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

"The last time he addressed his own flock, he began in nearly the following words: "We have God for our father, Jesus Christ for our redeemer and mediator, and the Holy Spirit for our guide and comforter." In proceeding he dwelt on the various offices of Christ; the efficacy of his Spirit to redeem us from the corruptions of the world; and of his sacrifice on the cross to obtain for us eternal life. He was always very careful to show the necessary connexion of these two parts of christian doctrine; and to enforce the imitation of Christ's life, as the only sure evidence of being benefitted by his death.

"In his intercourse with men, he was social and cheerful. The world knew nothing of his cares or sorrows; yet he lived in continual watchfulness and circumspection. The perfection which he had attained in this exercise, though not discovered by a common observer, formed one of the most material traits in his character; and made him more at liberty than many pious persons are, for the common avocations of life. Goodness did not, on him, sit uneasily, or by constraint; it was interwoven in his character. The effect was seen; but the springs and principles by which it was produced, were concealed from view.

"His conduct towards young persons was particularly ingratiating. He loved even the prattle of infancy; joined freely in the innocent amusements of children; and took particular pleasure in the conversation of youth. He always loved to promote their enjoyments; and no man could make more allowance for their weaknesses. To

his own children, he had long been equally the father and the friend. His presence never produced uneasy restraint: they felt him as their most delightful companion, their ablest counsellor, and their surest friend. His manners towards them were uniformly kind; and it was his study to encourage their rational pleasures and pursuits.

"He loved them too, when of a proper age, to think for themselves; and though he would sometimes argue with them earnestly, yet he never resented their retaining their own opinion; but would often speak of it with pleasantry. In the education of children however, he thought the subjection of the will of the highest importance; and that they should be made to obey their parents, whether they understood the reasonableness of the thing commanded, or not. He was of opinion, that the habit of implicit obedience to parents, in infancy, prepared the minds of children for a more ready submission

and obedience to the will of their Heavenly Father; and that the superior knowledge of parents rendered the obedience of children a reasonable service.

"Indifference to self, was another point which he appeared, by his practice, to think of great consequence in education. He would have his children ready to serve any one, and to forego their own indulgences, when they interfered with the good of others; though he was, at proper times, tender of their little pleasures. He however instilled the principles of which I have spoken, rather by acts and example, than by precepts. He was not much in the habit of moralizing, or of conveying didactic instruction in his own family. Yet, on occasions which called for it, he was very far from neglecting the duty of admonition and instruction: and the manner in which he conveyed it, was such as gave it a deep impression.

"His mind appeared to be peculiarly formed for society; and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the intercourse with persons of piety and learning; more especially with those who, like himself, were devoted to the study of the Holy Scriptures. He was accurately acquainted with these sacred writings, and with the best critical expositions and illustrations of them. And though he chiefly delighted in endeavouring to imbibe himself, and to infuse into others, that spirit and those precepts which they unequivocally teach; yet he highly esteemed the labours of those who, by the collation of manuscripts, the inquiry into ancient manners and customs, and the critical study of the original tongues, have corrected some errors in our translation; thrown light on the obscurity of particular passages; or have given additional force and beauty to others."

He possessed a great share of decision of character. Whatever he thought desirable to be

done, he appears to have done it without delay. Like Paul, he reasoned not with flesh and blood; and like Matthew, no sooner did he hear his Master's voice, than he arose and followed him with constant fidelity.

"The manner of my dear father's death was to me peculiarly instructive. Though he did not exhibit any of those strong feelings of mind, and rapturous expressions, which have sometimes accompanied the death-bed of the righteous, yet his mind was steadfast and full of hope. He had so long conversed with the invisible realities of a future state, that on their nearer approach, he was calm and dispassionate; equally remote from weak timidity and presumptuous confidence.

"Strongly impressed with the imperfections of human attainments, and how far his best efforts were from deserving the reward to which he aspired, he declared that his hopes were founded

on "Mercy, unmerited mercy." At the same time, relying on those promises which had been the anchor of his life, his trust was strong, that He who had graciously preserved him from the dominion of sin in the world, would finally give him the victory over death, hell, and the grave. His end was in unison with his life, and proved the genuineness of his character."

The zeal of this enlightened man for the benefit of others, appears to have been unwearied. Though he was occupied in the pursuit of business; in the concerns of the society to which he belonged; and in other public and private affairs; as well as with the common daily occurrences of life; yet he found time to compose a number of little works of a moral and religious nature, which he designed chiefly for the use of persons of his own persuasion. They have been well received by the members of the society, and have had an extensive circulation in it; and they are likely to be continued in estimation, as useful and valuable publications. His motives in these literary labours were not only pure and benevolent, but wholly disinterested. The profits arising from them, which were not inconsiderable, were all disposed of in charities, and benefactions to others. The *first* publication, entitled, "The Faith of the People called Quakers, in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," extracted from the writings of various authors of that religious society, appeared in the year 1801; and has had three editions. The *second* work, on "The Principles of Friends;" in which their tenets are considered and explained in a familiar and perspicuous manner, was published in the year 1805; and has passed through six editions. His *third* publication, entitled, "The duties of Religion and Morality, as inculcated in the Holy Scriptures;" adapted to the perusal of persons of every religious denomination, appeared in the year 1807, and has had four editions. His fourth work, entitled, "Select Passages from the Holy Scriptures," designed to impress upon

the minds of young persons, the principal truths of Christianity, by an arrangement of texts under various heads; was published in the year 1810, and has passed through three editions. The first volume of his last work, entitled, "Biographical Notices of Members of the Society of Friends," came out in the year 1813.

Of these works, "The Duties of Religion and Morality," and the "Select Passages from the Holy Scriptures," being calculated, not for the Society of Friends only, but for general use, may be considered as proofs of his expanded regard for the interests of others; and will, it is hoped, be found acceptable and beneficial to many who are not of his own particular communion.

He was very desirous, and often expressed it, that the youth of our own society, should be carefully and impressively instructed, in the peculiar principles which we profess, and also in

the great, general doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion. He thought that our young persons were not sufficiently and regularly grounded, in this species of instruction, and he wished for the adoption of some mode by which it might be done more effectually. These principles and doctrines, the foundations of our faith and practice, would, if judiciously inculcated on our youth, with the Divine Blessing superadded, establish their judgments, and prove a preservative and support in their intercourse with the world. It appears that, with these views, he prepared and produced the two volumes just mentioned, namely, "The Principles of Friends," and "The Duties of Religion and Morality;" and they are so well adapted to these purposes, that if attentively and faithfully studied, they would scarcely fail of answering, in a good degree at least, the author's benevolent intentions.

Though the subject of this Memoir was, as his son has observed, firmly and warmly at-

tached to the religious opinions of the society to which he belonged, and of which he was so truly respectable a member, yet he entertained great liberality of sentiment towards those who conscientiously differed from him; and this liberality continued to expand itself the longer he lived; and the more his experience, and knowledge of the integrity and true character of his Christian brethren of other denominations, increased.

Of this liberal spirit he gave a gratifying evidence, in a speech which he made at the York Auxiliary Bible Society for the year 1812. A part of this speech has been selected, as an appropriate insertion on this occasion. It is as follows.

"I feel disposed to express the gratification which I experience, on seeing so large and respectable a meeting of my fellow-citizens, on the present occasion; and particularly with the

union of Christians of various denominations in the support of this great cause. May we not compare the various sects of Christianity to the different tribes of ancient Israel? We, like them, may have some different views, and separate interests; but we acknowledge one God, and one Lord, even our Lord Jesus Christ. We profess to be governed by the same laws, which are contained in the Holy Scriptures; and though we may not unite in the construction of some of these laws; yet, when we consider in how large a proportion of them the professors of Christianity are agreed, and, consequently, how small is the part in which we differ, there is much cause for us to feel as brethren, and to unite, as has frequently been the case, in defence of our common faith."

Another, and an affecting instance of his liberality, and love towards his fellow-citizens, was exhibited by him, in a speech which he made at the last meeting that he lived to see,

of the York Bible Society held a few months before his decease. And as it is replete with true christian charity, and appears to contain something like a presentiment of his end, an extract from it may, with propriety, be introduced into this account of him. It is therefore presented to the reader.

"There is, indeed, great cause to lament the moral depravity which exists in this favoured nation, and of which, I fear, my native city largely partakes; yet, it affords me great satisfaction to observe the disposition, which, on all occasions, is evinced by so numerous a class of the inhabitants of York, to relieve both the temporal and spiritual wants of our fellow-creatures. This is indeed cause of rejoicing to my mind; and I can truly say, it affords me no small pleasure to believe, that if it should ever be my happy lot to gain an admittance into that city, whose walls are salvation, and its gates praise, I shall there, as well as here, have many fellow-citizens, and, I

trust, no small portion of those who now hear my voice; who, though I may differ from them on some points of Christian Doctrine, or rather, perhaps, of Christian Practice, I feel no difficulty in believing will finally be added to that innumerable multitude, which the divinely eagle-eyed Apostle saw standing before the throne, clothed in white robes, and having palms in their hands; but who, though possessed of these emblems of righteousness and of victory, were far from claiming any merit to themselves, but ascribed their salvation wholly to the Lord God and to the Lamb."

The life of a man so valuable to the public, and to the particular society of which he was a member, so dear to his family and friends, might naturally have excited a hope, that it would have been long preserved, as a bright and useful example in the world. But that Omniscient Being who knows what is best for his creatures, and most conducive to the ends of his Provi-

dence, saw it good to remove his servant from this scene of trial and difficulties, before he had attained the sixtieth year of his age. He had through life, until the last year of it, enjoyed a comfortable, and even vigorous state of health. But about this period, he became infirm, and gradually declined till the time of his decease. His disorder was, at times, attended with much pain. But he was borne above all his afflictions, by a patient, resigned, and steadfast mind; and, at length, finished his course with the peace and hope of a Christian.

His death was an event deeply affecting to his numerous relations and friends, by whom he will be long remembered with esteem and affection. He was also greatly respected by such of his fellow-citizens as had the opportunity of knowing his character; a pleasing proof of which was exhibited at a meeting of the York Bible Society, held a few months after his decease. At this meeting, a number of the

speakers bore strong and interesting testimonies, to the character and virtues of their late, lamented associate; and these tributes of respect met the cordial sympathy of the audience. A few extracts from the speeches made on this occasion, by teachers of different religious professions, will doubtless be acceptable to the reader, as they correspond so entirely with the design of this Memoir.

"I humbly venture," said one of the speakers, "to express my regret for the loss of one, whose sincere and unaffected testimony was heard last year within these walls, in behalf of the great cause which we profess to advocate; but who is now no more. I shall not soon forget the solemn and impressive language, in which he then spoke of his earnest wishes for the propagation of revealed truth; and the terms, (apparently prophetic of his own decease,) in which he cordially anticipated a more perfect union with his fellow-labourers in a better state. There

is a time to be silent, as well as a time to speak; and our deceased friend, who knew both, evidently never spoke here for the sake of speaking. He was well aware, that the great subject of revelation, needs not the foreign aid of ornament, or the meretricious trappings of mere human eloquence, to deck it out. What he uttered, was uttered as in the sight of God. Let us imitate his sincerity, and may a portion of his benevolent, judicious, and pious spirit rest on some of his survivors—may his mantle fall on a suitable successor."

"No part of the business of the day," said another of the speakers, "could be more acceptable than that, which has been assigned to me, as it will afford me a fit opportunity of adding, to what you have just heard, my tribute of unfeigned respect, to the memory of that excellent person, who at the last anniversary, discharged the duty to which I am now called, in a manner which cannot soon be forgotten. The ardent piety—the enlarged

benevolence—the unaffected humility which appeared in the admirable address by which he introduced the motion I am now about to propose to your notice, must have made a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of all who heard it. Since that day, it has pleased the Almighty and All-wise Disposer of events, to remove him from the present scene, and we humbly hope, to grant him "an admittance into that city, whose walls are salvation, and whose gates are praise." In the genuine spirit of that society, of which he was a distinguished member, he was ever zealous in promoting every scheme friendly to human happiness; and that his heart was devoted to the interests of the Bible Society, we have had abundant proof."

The last speaker on this subject, a clergyman of the church of England, expressed himself in the following manner:—"It was my intention to have trespassed a little on your time, by offering a few reflections on the removal

of a lay-member of our last year's committee, to a more exalted society; but I have been anticipated by no less than three gentlemen who have addressed you. This circumstance proves how much the memory of that pious and excellent man, lives in the recollection and affections of us all. It has been well observed, with what pleasure he expatiated on the readiness of his fellow-citizens, to concur in every charitable work, (from few of which his purse or his presence was withheld.) This place and this occasion unite to excite in my mind, a vivid remembrance of his look and manner, when he anticipated, in modest hope, his joy in meeting many of religious denominations different from his own, before the throne of heaven. There, I doubt not, he now stands "clothed in white robes, and a palm in his hand." But, to use nearly his own words on that occasion; "though possessed of these emblems of righteousness and of victory, he is far from claiming any merit to himself, but ascribes his salvation wholly to the Lord God and to the

Lamb." Impressed with the solemnity of this subject, you will bear with me, when I express my serious wish, that while associated for the christian purpose of conveying to others the knowledge of salvation, we may be careful to secure it for ourselves. May it be the happy lot of each of us to ascend in death, whither we may confidently believe our late valuable friend is gone before us; and where the unhappy distinction of dissenter and churchman will be for ever extinguished, by enlargement of understanding, refinement of principle, and the perfection of love."

It may not be improper to add, on this affecting occasion, a little piece of elegiac poetry, which was composed by a person* who highly valued the subject of this Memoir, and sincerely deplored his loss; and for whom he entertained a particular respect and regard. It is written with

* Charlotte Richardson.

great simplicity; and not only possesses poetical merit, but contains the genuine effusions of a heart which felt what it described. It is as follows.

LINES,

On the Death of Mr. H. Tuke, *August 11th*, 1814:

Respectfully addressed to his Family.

A mournful gloom on ev'ry face appears,
From ev'ry eye distil the humid tears.
From whence proceed these signs of general wo?
For Henry's loss those heart-felt sorrows flow.
Search amidst Ebor's worthiest sons around,
Who more than he with Christian virtues crown'd?
His mind with heavenly love and wisdom fraught,
His life adorn'd the doctrines which he taught;
Far as his name, his influence, could extend,
He proved himself religion's genuine friend;
In him the Christian graces were combin'd,
From love to God sprung love to all mankind:
While mem'ry lasts, on many a grateful breast
Shall his mild virtues ever be impress,

'Twas his delight to sooth th' afflicted mind,
And point to where the soul might comfort find.
Hence while his bounty could relief impart,
His kindness dropp'd like balm upon the heart;
The pensive widow's sorrowing heart could cheer,
And wipe from many an orphan's face the tear.

Oh my lov'd friend! when late, with artless lay,
I hail'd with joy sincere thy natal day,
How little thought I, ere the year should end,
I o'er thy grave in tearful wo should bend!
Nor when the cause of truth inspir'd thy tongue,
And listening numbers in attention hung,
While heaven's pure joys seem'd open to thy view,
Who deem'd that *that* would prove thy last adieu?
Who thought the work of death was then begun,
And thy bright course of glory nearly run?
That while we gaz'd in solemn, sweet delight,
A few short months would snatch thee from our sight?
Far other prospects fond affection drew;
Lov'd the gay scene, and thought the vision true.
Even when disease had fatal inroads made,
And science own'd, no power on earth could aid,
The flatterer Hope still told of lengthen'd years;
And dash'd from Sorrow's hand the cup of tears.

Delusive hopes! long cherish'd, but in vain;
No longer might the soul on earth remain.
To join the myriads which surround the throne,
And realize the scene so lately drawn,
And with the spirits of the just proclaim,
"Salvation to our God, and to the Lamb,"
The spirit fled, and to that City soar'd,
Whose Maker and whose Builder is the Lord;
Which needeth not the sun's enlivening rays,
"Her walls salvation, and her gates are praise."
The days of mourning find a period here;
For God from ev'ry face shall wipe the tear.

O may this thought assuage the deep-felt wo
Of those he lov'd and cherish'd here below!
And while affection shall his worth proclaim,
And tears of anguish start at Henry's name,
Dear, valued Relatives! O may you feel,
That He who gave the wound can also heal!
May resignation's sweet and potent balm,
Shed o'er your minds a sacred, peaceful calm!
While faith shall lead your thoughts from scenes of wo,
To where eternal joys and pleasures flow;
Where death is not, where pain and sorrow cease,
And all is pure, unutterable peace!

September 17th, 1814.

The writer of this Memoir could easily extend it, by enlarging on the virtues and character of his deceased friend. He knew him well for many years, and esteemed and loved him sincerely: and he feels that the privation of his pleasant, instructive society and friendship, is an irreparable loss. But though this intimate knowledge would enable him to express much more, on the present mournful occasion, yet as the friends of the monthly meeting of which he was a member, have given a solemn testimony, respecting their valued friend, which has been confirmed by the Quarterly meeting for the County of York; and as it contains an ample enumeration of his moral and religious attainments, and of his usefulness in public and private life; it is unnecessary to supply the deficiences of this "Biographical Sketch," any farther than by inserting the testimony. And the writer does not know how he could better close his narrative, than by presenting to the reader so respectable and authentic a memorial of the subject of this work.

A TESTIMONY

OF

YORK MONTHLY MEETING,

Concerning HENRY TUKE, deceased.

TO commemorate, on suitable occasions, the virtues of our deceased friends, who have been the instruments of strength and refreshment to our minds, is a tribute of affection due to their pious labours, a grateful acknowledgement to the Giver of all good, and may prove a comfort and encouragement to those who attentively peruse the memorials of their lives.

We are led to these reflections, by the late mournful event of the death of our much esteemed and beloved friend, Henry Tuke; who, at a period of life when his religious experience and usefulness were eminently conspicuous, was, in the course of Divine Providence, taken from

us, and removed from his labours of love in the church militant. But whilst we feel and lament the loss of so bright an example of piety and virtue, we desire to bow, with humble submission, and dutiful resignation, to the will of our Heavenly Father; whose dispensations, though often inscrutable by our finite comprehensions, are all assuredly wise, and just, and good. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right," both when he gives, and when he takes away?

By the Divine Blessing on a guarded and religious education, this dear friend was led to "Remember his Creator in the days of his youth." He was early impressed with the love of his Great Benefactor, and disposed to render to Him the returns of gratitude and obedience, for his manifold mercies: and he was, in a good degree, preserved from the dangers and follies incident to that period of life. His natural disposition was quick and lively; but the powerful operations of the grace of God happily tempered

his vivacity of nature, and rendered it conducive to an earnest pursuit of his moral and religious duties.

In the twenty-fifth year of his age, he first appeared as a minister of the Gospel; and evincing a care to move under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and his life corresponding with this sacred office, his ministry was sound and edifying, and truly acceptable to friends. As he derived his own supplies of strength and consolation from the Fountain of Light and Life, and from a diligent perusal of the Holy Scriptures, so he was solicitous to recommend to others, a reverent attention to these great sources of instruction, and of support under all the varied events of time Although he was diligently engaged in business, and in the cares and provisions connected with a family, yet he was greatly solicitous to secure the one thing needful, the pearl of great price; and therefore, under all his outward concerns, he continued to increase in true religion, in the lively exercise of his ministry, and in solicitude for the salvation of his fellow-creatures. His travels in the love and labours of the Gospel, were not very extensive: but we have reason to believe they were owned by his Great Master, and were comfortable and encouraging to many amongst whom he laboured. He visited Ireland twice, Scotland five times, Wales and the Isle of Man once, and also several places in different parts of England: and from these visits he returned, we believe, with the reward of peace.

In the discipline of the Church, he was skilful and active, and extensively useful. He felt the great importance of preserving unimpaired this hedge and guard of our religious principles and practice. But influenced by a judicious spirit of charity and tenderness, he was desirous that his zeal for the maintenance of our salutary institutions, might always be compatible with the design of them, the encouragement of the

right-minded, and the discountenancing and recovery of backsliders. In these services, a care evidently rested on his mind, that he might be humble and watchful, and that his own views of the subject should not be urged beyond that deference and regard, which were due to the sentiments of others.—He was a very diligent attender of our meetings for worship and discipline; and, for many years, he regularly attended the yearly meeting in London, where, his natural abilities and acquired improvements being sanctified by Divine Grace, he was rendered, we have reason to believe, in no small degree, useful, in supporting the cause of truth and righteousness, and promoting the interests of the society.

Though he was not exempt from trials and conflicts of spirit, he bore them with meekness and submission; and evinced the dignity of his Christian profession, by that constancy and cheerfulness, which are recommended by our

Lord to his disciples, when he enjoins them, "not to appear unto men to fast." He was distinguished for a benevolent and affectionate temper of mind, ever ready to relieve the troubles of others, and to promote their comfort and allowable enjoyments. In discharging the various duties of social life, he had peculiar satisfaction. He was a very dutiful and respectful son, a tender and sympathizing husband, a kind, discreet, and liberal minded father. As he knew that he served a good Master, he served Him with a willing mind: and being a grateful receiver of the mercies and benefits bestowed upon him, he was careful frequently to number his blessings; and to ascribe them all to the bounty of that Gracious Being, "who openeth his hand, and satisfieth the desire of every living thing."

The prosperity of true religion and righteousness, cheered his spirit. He loved to hear of the welfare of his fellow creatures of every de-

nomination, and in every part of the world: and he was sensibly concerned when, on particular occasions, he perceived the prevalence of injustice and iniquity. It may justly be said of him, that his zeal against wrong things, and his earnestness to promote what was right, were striking and exemplary. In particular, the cause of the oppressed Africans, the success of the Bible Societies, the guarded education of youth and the support of peace and good order amongst men, lay near his heart, and engaged his strenuous exertions. And as he possessed an unfeigned and active love towards others, so he was greatly beloved by a numerous and extensive circle of relations and friends. In all these things, he was a pattern to others: and we hope that the remembrance of his life and conversation may, through Divine Grace, prove the means of stirring up many to go and do likewise; to imitate his watchfulness, charity, zeal and cheerfulness; his love to God and love to men. Whilst thus remembered, he will not be entirely lost to

us: though dead, he will yet speak the encouraging language of, "Follow me, as I have followed Christ."

Notwithstanding the various occupations of our deceased friend, which employed so much of his time, his love for the rising generation, and zeal for the propagation of sound principles, and right conduct, induced him to prepare and publish several little volumes, for the instruction of youth and others, on many important subjects of religion and morality. These pious labours of his, will not soon be forgotten. We trust they will be long valued and perused by many of our society, as books containing much instruction; and as interesting evidences of his tender regard, and earnest desires for their temporal and eternal welfare.

In the midst of his benevolent views and pursuits, this diligent labourer in the Lord's vineyard, about a year before his decease, began to

be affected with bodily infirmities. They gradually increased upon him, and at length confined him to the house, for nearly eleven weeks previous to his dissolution. In this long period of decay, he continued to employ himself in doing good; and even after his confinement, his love for his friends, and solicitude for their welfare, remained lively and active. He gratefully commemorated the goodness of God to him, which he humbly said was bestowed in mercy, unmerited mercy. To those about him, who faithfully and affectionately ministered to his necessities, he often expressed his thankful acknowledgments; and manifested his concern for them, lest they should not be sufficiently attentive to themselves. Till nearly the close of life, he endeavoured, occasionally, to cheer and encourage his near relatives, and to prevent their spirits from suffering too much depression, under this afflictive dispensation. Through the whole of his illness, which was at times very painful, he exhibited great and exemplary composure, patience, and resignation to the Divine will. This favoured state of mind, with many expressions of his continued love to others, and an unfailing trust in God, are consoling evidences that, through the blood of the Lamb immaculate, he has gained an admittance into that City, whose walls are salvation, and its gates praise. The evening before his decease, he said, with a dignity and fortitude becoming a faithful servant of God: "If I die, I die as I have lived, in the faith and hope of a Christian. I am perfectly resigned to the will of my Heavenly Father."

He died on the eleventh of the eighth month, 1814, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirty fifth of his ministry; and was buried on the sixteenth of the same month. A very solemn meeting was held on the occasion; in which, and at the grave, the Divine power of truth prevailed, and many hearts were deeply affected.

Read and approved in our Monthly Meeting, held at York the first day of the second month, 1815; and signed by many Friends.

Read and approved in York Quarterly Meeting, held at Leeds the 31st of the 3rd month, 1815; and, on behalf thereof, signed by

JOHN HIPSLEY, Jun. Clerk.

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